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THE
HISTORY

OF THE

Lateral Operation:

O R,

AN ACCOUNT of the METHOD of *Extracting a Stone*, by making a Wound near the great Protuberance of the *Os Ischium*, through the Common Integuments and *Levator Ani*, into the Side of the Bladder, without touching the *Urethra*, *Prostate Gland*, *Vesiculæ Seminales*, or any other of the Urinary or Seminal Vessels; first attempted by *Frere Jacques* in *France*, and afterwards successfully perform'd by *Professor Rau* in *Holland*.

With a POSTSCRIPT

Concerning the Introduction and Improvement of this Method here in *London*.

By JAMES DOUGLAS, M.D.

L O N D O N :

Printed for G. STRAHAN, at the *Golden Ball*, over-against the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*. MDCCXXVI.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN OF

OF

An account of the reign of Henry the
first, who reigned from the year
1100 to 1135. This reign was
marked by the conquest of
Normandy, and the union of
the crowns of England and
France. The reign was also
marked by the death of
King Stephen, and the
accession of King Matilda.

WITH A POSTSCRIPT

Concerning the reign of King
Stephen, and the accession of
King Matilda.

BY JAMES DOUGLAS

LONDON

Printed by J. DODD, at the
New Bathing Machine, in
St. James's Park.



A

CATALOGUE of BOOKS,

From whence the Materials of this
HISTORY have been Collected.

PAULUS BUSSIERE,

Surgeon and F. R. S.

*A Letter to Dr. Sloane, wherein he
gives an Account of the New Way of
Cutting for the Stone by the Her-
mit ; with his Opinion of it.*

V. Phil. Transf.
Lond. 1699. 4to.

MARTINUS LYSTER,

M. D. Physician to Queen Anne.

A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698.

Lond. 1699. 8vo.

JOHANNES MERY,

First Surgeon to the *Hotel Dieu*
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*Observations sur la Maniere de Tailler
dans les deux Sexes pour l'Extraction
de la Pierre Pratiquée, par Frere
Jacques.*

Amstelod. 1700. 12mo.

Acta Eruditorum, Anno 1700,

Lipsiæ 1700. 4to.

SAVIARD.

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Paris 1702. 12mo.

DIONIS.

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Cours

*Cours d'Operations de Chirurgie De-
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Bruxel. 1708. 8vo.

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gland and Holland in the Years
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Lond. 1711. 8vo.

ANDREAS OTTON
GOELICKE.

Doctor and Professor in Physick.

Historia Chirurgia Recentior.

Hal. Magdeburg 1713. 8vo.

GULIELMUS CHESELDEN,

Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital,
and F. R. S.

*A Treatise on the High Operation for
the Stone.*

Lond. 1723. 8vo.

DE FONTENELLE.

*Histoire de l'Academie Royale des
Sciences. Année 1722.*

Paris 1724. 4to. V. p. 129.

BERNARDUS SIEGFRIED
ALBINUS.

Professor of Anatomy in the Uni-
versity of Leyden.

*Index Supellectilis Anatomica quam
Academia qua Leyda est legavit Jo-
hannes Jacobus Rau; cui acceffe-
runt Vita ejus, & Curatio quam
Calculosis Adhibuit, Instrumento-
rumque figura.*

Lugd. Batav. 1725. 4to.

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BOOKS printed for GEORGE STRAHAN.

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6. An New Table of Dispensatory Plants, distributed according to their principal Virtues, neatly engraved on a large Broad-side, and dedicated to Dr. *Mead*. By the same Author.



INTRODUCTION.

THE *Stone* in the Bladder is a Distemper, which, for ought we know to the contrary, is as ancient as any other to which the humane Body has ever been subject: And *Hippocrates*, to whom we owe the first Accounts of that, as well as of all the other Diseases he has mention'd, informs us, that in his Time the Operation of extracting the *Stone* by Cutting was already in Use; and that there were Men who made it their chief Business, without intermeddling with any other Part of Physick or Surgery, which then, and for a great while afterwards, made up but one and the same Profession. All this is evident from that Clause of *Hippocrates's* Oath, in which he makes his Disciples swear not to cut any Person for the *Stone*, but to leave that Operation to such who exercised themselves in that Art, and made a particular Profession of it. *ἔ τιμὴν ἔδδ' ἰδοὺ λιθιῶντας, ἐκχωρήσω δὲ ἰργαίτησιν ἀνδράσι περὶ τοῦ ὄντος.* And from these Words there may be some ground to think, that *Hippocrates* never practis'd this Operation himself.

What was the Method of Cutting then us'd, we know not. Thus far however we may be sure, that the Incision was not propos'd to be made in the Body of the Bladder; because *Hippocrates* every where declares it to be his Opinion, that Wounds there are mortal. *ἀπαγορεύει θανάτου δι,* says he, *Aphor. 6, 18.* and in his Book *de Morbis* 3. *ἀποθνήσκει δὲ ἢ πρὸς τὴν κύστιν περὶ.* The only further Conjecture that can with any Probability be formed is, that as *Celsus* is universally allowed to have borrowed his whole System, both of Physick and Surgery, from the *Greeks*, the Method of Cutting for the *Stone* which he has described,

may likewise have been taken from them; and perhaps they knew no other but that. *Ammonius*, surnamed *Lithotomus* from the Instrument he invented to break the *Stone* in the Bladder, when it happen'd to be too large to pass through the Wound entire, practis'd this Method at *Alexandria*, in the Time of *Herophilus* and *Erasistratus*; that is, perhaps about 150 Years after *Hippocrates*; and *Meges* practis'd it at *Rome* in the Reign of *Augustus*. It is *Celsus*, who has preserved us the Names of these two famous Lithotomists; and it is evident from what he says of them, that he believed their Method of Cutting to be the same with his. And as they lived at a great Distance, both of Time and Place, from one another; and the first of them so near the Age of *Hippocrates*, it becomes from thence further probable, that the Operation for the *Stone* describ'd by *Celsus* was the most ancient, and perhaps the only one that had ever been practis'd before his Time.

Whatever Solidity may be in these Conjectures, for I give them only as such, *Celsus* is undoubtedly the first Author now remaining, who has taught us any thing like a Method of Cutting; and the same, without any considerable Variation, is describ'd by the later *Greek* Writers, particularly *Paulus Aegineta*; by the *Arabians*, *Avicenna* and *Albucasis*; and, in general, by all Chirurgical Authors down to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century, *Rogerus*, *Rolandus*, *Brunus*, *Theodoricus*, *Gulielmus de Saliceto*, *Lanfrancus*, *Mundinus*, *Guido*, and others. These Authors do little more than copy one another; and what is worth remarking about them is, that it does not appear that any of them ever saw this Operation perform'd, *Guido* alone excepted; but even he does not seem ever to have cut himself.

During all this long Interval, no other Method but this being known, we are not to imagine that it went by any other Name than that of Cutting for the *Stone*, or Operation of *Lithotomy*.

But when *Johannes de Romanis* had invented his New Method of Cutting, which happen'd some Time near the Year 1500, at least in all probability nearer that than 1520, as is said by *Gourmelenus*, and the generality of Writers since his Time; it then became necessary that Names should be appropriated to these two Methods, by which they might be distinguished from one another.

The principal Difference between them consists in the Instruments used, and in the Manner of using them ; and therefore it was natural that the Names apply'd to them should be taken from thence. Accordingly we find that *De Franco* calls *Marianus's* Operation, *La Cure de la Pierre avec gros ferrement* ; and from thence undoubtedly came the Appellations of *Major* and *Minor Apparatus*, by which these two Operations have since been most commonly express'd ; first used, as far as I can find, by *Paræus* and *Gourmelenus*, as well as the *French* Names which answer to them, *Le haut & le petit Appareil*. The *English* Names of Cutting upon the *Staff*, and Cutting upon the *Gripe*, are of a much later Date. We probably borrowed them from the *Dutch*, in which Language these two ways of Cutting are express'd by Terms analogous to them ; and perhaps they came to be taken into the *English* Language, by being used by *Lithomists* whom we have had oftener than once from *Holland*.

The Second of these Methods, the *Apparatus Major*, was, as I have said, invented by *Johannes de Romanis*, and practis'd by him at *Rome* ; but it was first published there by his Scholar *Marianus Sanctus Barolitanus* in the Year 1522, not at *Venice* in 1535, as some have said. And it is upon this Account, that Authors who do not so much attend to Discoverers, as to the Publishers of Discoveries, have given it the Name of *Methodus Mariana* or *Mariniana*.

This Operation being suited to Persons of all Ages, whereas that of *Celsus* was formerly thought practicable only upon Children, soon gain'd a general Vogue, and brought *Lithotomy* much more in Fashion than it had been for many Ages before. *Celsus's* Method, however, was not quite laid aside, but continued to be practis'd ; and perhaps even more frequently than it had ever been since *Aegineta's* Days ; with this Advantage also, that the Success of the other Method being experienced in full grown Persons as well as Children, encouraged *Lithotomists* to break through the narrow Limits of Time fixed by the Ancients, and extend the Use of *Celsus's* Method much further than *Celsus* himself had prescribed.

From this Time downwards, the Practice of *Lithotomy* becoming still more common, a great many Improvements were made in both Methods, especially in that of *Marianus* ; and other Varieties introduced

In them, as best suited the Genius of particular Operators, the Condition of the Patients, or the Humour of the Times; and in all these the *Parisian* Lithotomists must be allowed to have had the principal Hand.

In the Year 1561, *De Franco's* Treatise of *Hernia's, &c.* was first published, and in that he gives an Account of a new Method he once made use of in order to extract a *Stone*, all the others proving ineffectual, and that was by making an Incision above the *Os Pubis*. Tho' the Operation succeeded, yet he thinks fit to dissuade all Persons from ever following his Example; and indeed his Advice was so far comply'd with, that for above Twenty Years after his Book appeared, Authors are as entirely silent about this extraordinary Operation, as if it had never been known; and in all Probability would have continued so much longer, had not a lucky Chance engaged a Person of *Rossetus's* Learning and Sagacity, to undertake the introducing of the *Cesarean* Operation: For, in order to recommend this unheard-of and dangerous Practice, one Method this great Man thought it for his Purpose to take, was to compare it with some others then in Use; and, amongst the rest, with the common ways of Cutting for the *Stone*. This led him to so clear and terrifying a View of the Cruelty and Barbarity of both of them, that a Person of his Talent for Invention needed no more to put him upon the Search of a New one; and the Pains he had been at to consider the Nature and Consequences of Wounds in the *Abdomen*, was undoubtedly what gave him the first Hint of that which he invented. *De Franco* must indeed be own'd to have published an Instance of this Operation long before *Rossetus* endeavoured to introduce it. But *Rossetus* is not for that Reason to be denied the Glory of having invented it; for, to say nothing of the Circumstances of *De Franco's* Story, which every body is now sufficiently acquainted with, *Rossetus* was led to the Theory he established by the meer Force of his own Judgment, his Knowledge of the Structure of the Parts concerned, in which he exceeded all that went before him, *Vesalius* himself not excepted, and Consequences drawn from Facts, among which that mention'd by *Franco* appears to have no Place, *Rossetus* having discover'd his Method before ever he had seen that Author's Book, as he affirms himself, and in a manner that gives not the least ground to suspect him of a Falshood.

But if it should be granted that he took the first Hint of his Method from *Franco*, he must still be allowed by all who have read and under-

understand his Book, to deserve a greater share of Praise as an Improver, than the other can claim as an Inventer : And I believe it will be found upon a strict Examination, that the Honour of many Discoveries which we now enjoy, is given to Persons who had no better Title to them than he has to this, even supposing he had borrowed from *De Franco* all that he could possibly borrow from him. He must be very little acquainted with the History of Inventers, who does not know that many of their Inventions are owing to more favourable Accidents, than reading *De Franco's* Book can have been to *Rossetus*.

Tho' this great Author lived to publish a compleat Account of his new Method of Cutting for the Stone, (which has by Writers in *Latin* been generally called *Sectio Hypogastrica* ; by the *French*, *Le haut Appareil* ; and in *English*, *The High Operation*) yet he never had an Opportunity of performing it upon a living Body ; and for above 130 Years after him, none seem'd ever so much as inclinable to make Tryal of it. The Writers of Lithotomy, during that Time, have most of them indeed mention'd this Operation ; but in such a manner, as shews very plainly that few of them had ever read *Rossetus's* Book, and that not one of them understood it. The Authority of *De Franco*, who forbids the attempting of this Method, and of *Hippocrates*, who thought all Wounds in the Bladder mortal, are the common Topicks they make use of to cry it down ; and all this most commonly in the Compass of half a Page, from which an intelligent Reader can gather no more, than barely that it had been once propos'd in *France* to cut for the Stone above the *Os Pubis*. *Dionis*, it is true, has been at a little more Pains about it than the rest, and had probably heard something of *Rossetus's* Method ; but then he is so supinely negligent in all the Parts of his Account, that one would be ready to think he mentions it at all, not so much with a design to recommend it to Practice, as to have something to say, and to make way for a new Figure in his Book, which should not be found in the other Treatises of Chirurgical Operations.

From these lame and imperfect Scraps, my Brother took the first Hints of this Method, having, as I am very well satisfied, never seen *Rossetus's Latin* Treatise till he had composed the whole Theory of his Operation, and perform'd it successfully on living Bodies. To him therefore may be applied what I have said about *Rossetus*, supposing that Author to have read *De Franco's* Story before he invented his Opera-

tion. But even *Rossetus* himself must yield to him the Honour of having introduced the Practice of it; and for this, considering the Discouragement he met with, the Difficulties he had to overcome, and on the other hand, how highly this Method has already conduced to the Preservation of Mankind, no Praise nor no Reward can be too great.

From this short View that I have given of the History of *Lithotomy*, it will appear, that properly speaking there are but two Ways possible of extracting the Stone out of the Bladder by Incision; and these are, making the Wound either above or below the *Os Pubis*. The first of these, if rightly practis'd, admits of no considerable Variety; in the second, there is a greater Latitude, not only in respect of the Instruments used, and the several Steps of the Operation, but also in the Place of the Incision. All these may be, and actually have been, compounded and combined together by Lithotomists in a great many different manners, and it would be hard to prove that any two of them ever cut exactly the same Way; but to avoid as much as can be done all unnecessary Subdivisions, I think the different Methods of extracting a Stone by Cutting below the *Os Pubis*, may be reduced to three kinds; that of *Celsus*, that of *Marianus*, and what I have chosen to call the *Lateral Way* first practis'd by *Frere Jacques*. The two first, as has been already observed, differ from one another chiefly in the Instruments and Steps of the Operation, and the last differs from both these in the Place of the Incision.

To this Method I shall confine myself at present, referring the compleat History of the other two, together with the High Operation, to another Opportunity; and in treating it, I intend to observe this Order,

First, I shall set down, from all the Authors I have met with, the History of *Frere Jaques*, his two Methods of Cutting Males, and the Success with which they were attended.

Secondly, I shall compare the different Accounts which have been given of the several Parts of his Operations with one another, that thereby it may clearly appear wherein they really consisted.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, I shall relate the Opinions of Authors concerning his Operations, and the Grounds upon which their Opinions have been founded. These, as is easy to conceive, are chiefly the Observations made on the dead Bodies of such as he had cut.

Fourthly, I shall set down his Method of Cutting Females, and the Judgments that have been made thereof.

Under these four general Heads will be contained the whole History of the *Lateral Operation for the Stone*, as it was perform'd by this Monk; and from thence we are naturally led to consider the Improvements that have been made of it; first those proposed by Monsieur *Mery*, and then such as were contrived and put in Practice by Professor *Rau*.

For the Matter of all this History, I must be obliged to Books; nothing can be called mine, except the Order in which I have digested it. What Authors I have chiefly consulted, the Reader will see in the Beginning of the first Chapter.

Before I close this Introduction, I must further acquaint the Reader, that I intend that the History of this *Lateral Operation* shall be followed in a very short time, by that of the other three general Methods of Cutting for the *Stone*, in three separate Treatises. To these I shall add a fifth, containing the Anatomy, and Figures of the Parts concerned in them all; the Figures of all the Instruments that have been used; and lastly, my own Observations concerning the Advantages and Inconveniences with which each of them are attended; and in what Cases I judge any of them, taken all together, to be preferable to the rest.

Finally, I shall relate the Opinions of Authors concerning his Opinions, and the Grounds upon which their Opinions have been founded. These, as is early to conceive, are chiefly the Observations made on the dead Bodies of such as he had cut.

Fourthly, I shall set down his Method of Cutting Femurs, and the Judgments that have been made thereof.

Under these four general Heads will be contained the whole History of the Animal Operation for the Stone, as it was performed by this Method, and from thence we are naturally led to consider the Improvements that have been made of it; this I shall propose by Monsieur Merz, and then such as were contrived and put in Practice by Professor Rave.

For the Matter of all this History, I must be obliged to Books; nothing can be called mine, except the Order in which I have digested it. What Authors I have chiefly consulted, the Reader will see in the Beginning of the first Chapter.

Before I close this Introduction, I must further acquaint the Reader, that I intend that the History of this Animal Operation shall be followed in a very short time, by that of the other three general Methods of Cutting for the Stone, in three separate Treatises. To these I shall add a fifth, containing the Anatomy, and Figures of the Parts concerned in them all; the Figures of all the Instruments that have been used; and lastly, my own Observations concerning the Advantages and Inconveniences with which each of them are attended; and in what Cases I judge any of them, taken all together, to be preferable to the rest.

And, this I shall I thought fit to add, that the most useful and necessary Observations, relating to the Animal Operation, shall be inserted in the Introduction.

CHAP. I.
Of the Nature and Use of the Stone, and of the Symptoms which attend it.

C H A P. I.

The History of Frere Jaques Methods of Cutting Males.



THE first Account that I find to have been ever published of *Frere Jaques* Operations for the Stone, is contained in a Letter written by Mr. *Bussiere*, a skilful and experienced Surgeon in London, and F. R. S. to Sir *Hans Sloane*, and inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions* for the Month of *March* 1699. The Author begins by describing the Instruments used in these Operations, and the Method of performing them, according to the Informations he had received from *Paris*; then he sets down the Opinion of his *French* Correspondent about them; and lastly, subjoins his own, founded on several Experiments he had made on dead Bodies.

Much about the same time Dr. *Lifter* published his Journey to *Paris*, and amongst other Curiosities, he has given us some Account of *Frere Jaques*. The Doctor went Physician to the Earl of *Portland*, who was sent Ambassador to *France* by King *William* after the Peace of *Reswick*; and during his Abode at *Paris*, he had the good Fortune to see *Frere Jaques* several times cut for the Stone.

Soon after that, appeared a *French* Treatise with this Title, *Observations sur la Maniere de Tailler dans les deux Sexes pour l'Extraction de la Pierre, pratiquée par Frere Jacques, par Jean Mery, Chirurgien de la seüe Reine, & Anatomiste de l'Academie Royale de Sciences*; printed at *Paris*, and presently afterwards at *Amsterdam*, both in the Year 1700. This excellent Author has left almost nothing unsaid that relates either to the History of *Frere Jaques* Operations, or the various Success with which they were attended in *France*; and he has likewise shown, at very great length, the Reasons of the Inconveniencies that follow upon them, and the Way by which he thinks these may be remedied: But, as it is to him that

we must be chiefly obliged for all that can with certainty be affirm'd about them, it is unnecessary to make any more particular Abstract of his Book in this Place.

The same Year that Monsieur *Mery's* Observations were publish'd, the *Leipsick* Journalists gave an Extract of it ; but, as I shall have occasion to remark as I go along, they do not seem always to have hit the true Sense of the Author.

Saviard, in a Collection of Chirurgical Operations published at *Paris* in 1702, has likewise mention'd those of *Frere Jacques* for the *Stone*, but refers entirely to *Mery* for an Account of them ; and indeed, by the few Things he has said about them, he appears to have been very unfit for that Task himself.

Monsieur *Dionis* is the next who affords us any thing further remarkable upon this Head. In his Book of Chirurgical Operations published at *Paris* in 1707, he has given a very distinct and methodical History of *Frere Jacques* Operations. The principal Facts he mentions are, or might have been taken from *Mery* ; and to these he has added some others, which, as he lived and practis'd in *Paris* while *Frere Jacques* was there, and saw him several times cut, it could be no hard matter for him to collect.

Goelick, in his History of Surgery 1713, has transcribed the Extract of *Mery's* Book from the *Leipsick* Acts ; and Mr. *Cheselden*, in his Treatise on the High Operation for the *Stone* 1723, has abridged the Account of *Frere Jacques* given us by *Dionis* ; but yet differs from him in some Things.

The learned Professor *Albinus* has made a few Observations on the same Subject, introductory to the accurate Account he has lately published of Mr. *Rau's* Method : And it is from these Nine Authors that I have extracted the following History of *Frere Jacques* Operations for the *Stone* ; tho' in reality they may all be reduced to Three ; the other Six having told us nothing worth minding, but what they have borrowed from *Bussiere*, *Mery* and *Dionis*.

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We know but very little concerning this Man's Original, Education, Life or Character, in any other respect than as a Lithotomist. The Name he gave himself was *Jacques Beaulieu*, and he said he was born in *Beaufort*, a Town or Village of the District of *Longsaunier*, in what is call'd the County of *Burgundy*. (1)

All our Authors agree that he was a Monk of some one kind or other ; but of what Order or Institution is not so certain. Mr. *Basseville* calls him an Hermit ; (2) and this seems to be confirm'd by what we are told by *Dionis*, that he had fram'd to himself a Rule of Religion back'd with Vows, which he left it to his Bishop for the Time being to dispense him from at Pleasure. (3) For at this time, as I have been inform'd, an Hermit in *France* is commonly a Person, who, being without Education, and having either spent his Substance, or been born to none, associates himself with one or two (never more) of the same Stamp, and finding means to get a Gift of some few Acres of Ground in a solitary Place near a great Town, and Liberty from the Bishop of the Diocese to erect a Hermitage, together with what they call a Rule to be observed in it, first build themselves little Cells, and then by manuring the rest of the Land, selling little Trinkets which they make, and the Charity of well-disposed Persons, supply themselves with all the Necessaries, and most commonly even the Conveniencies of Life. What makes it further probable that our Monk was of this kind is, the Ignorance and want of Education, which both *Mery* and *Dionis* have observed in him.

Mery tells us he was a Brother of the Third Order of *St. Francis* ; a Sett of *Mendicant* Monks, who differ indeed very much from Hermits, because they live in great Communities, and are tied up to a stricter Rule of Life ; but amongst those they call Brothers of that Order, there are many so perfectly void of all sorts of Education, that they cannot so much as read their own Mother Tongue. (4)

Dionis says he wore the Habit of a *Recolet*, except that he had Shoes instead of Sandals, and a Hat instead of a Cowl. The *Recolets* are such Monks of the first or great Order of *Franciscans*, call'd in *France*, *Cordeliers* or *Freres Mineurs*, who embraced the Reformation that was some time ago made amongst them ; and if what *Dionis* here says be strictly true, our Monk might still be a Hermit, but could not be of the Third Order as *Mery* pretends he was. (5) But

But of whatever Order he was, or whether of any Order or not, none of these Authors give us the least ground to think he was ever admitted to Holy Orders; and the Appellation of *Frere Jacques* which *Dionis* says he took to himself, is Proof enough to any body who has had Occasion to inform himself of the Customs of these Monks in *France*, that he never was. (6) And therefore it is, I believe, pretty much without ground, that *Mr. Cheselden* terms him an Ecclesiastick, (7) a Name seldom given to any but the Secular Clergy, and never to a Friar who is not a Priest. *Dr. Lister* indeed, and his Correspondent *Mr. Probie*, both call him *Pere Jacques*; but he is never so termed by the *French* Authors, who understand the Propriety of such Designations better than Strangers.

Albinus contents himself to call him in general a Monk, and such in some Sense or other he undoubtedly was; and this is all that can with any certainty be affirmed about his Profession. (9)

His ordinary Residence he pretended was in an Hospital called *La Charité* at *Besançon*, the Capital of the Province of *Franche Comté*, erected for the Maintainance of poor aged People and Children. (10) His outward Behaviour had all the Appearances of Probity and Simplicity; he lived on nothing but Bread and ordinary Soupes, despised Money, and never asked for any but only a few Pence to set his Instruments and mend his Shoes. (11)

But to come nearer our present Design, the History of his Operations for the Stone, *Mery* informs us, that his natural Character was very much suited to them; he was of an intrepid and undaunted Courage and Resolution, had a sure and steady Hand, and went about whatever he undertook without the least Hesitation, Faltering or sign of Fear. These natural Talents were, however, the only ones he possess'd; Art he was a perfect Stranger to, being altogether ignorant of Anatomy, and the regular Operations of Surgery. (12) Neither is it without ground that *Dionis* observes, that the Intrepidity and Quickness with which he perform'd his Operations, were owing to nothing so much as his being insensible of the Danger that attended his Miscarriages.

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Order as *Mery* pretends he was. (?)

This being the case, it may be justly wonder'd how he came ever to attempt Cutting for the *Stone* at all. This is a Mystery which no Author but *Mery* has endeavour'd to explain, and he has done it but very imperfectly. By comparing his natural Character with that of *Raoux*, a famous Impostor, their Curing of *Hernia's*, and likewise their Method of Operating for the *Stone*, he imagines that *Frere Jacques* might have been *Raoux's* Disciple, and learnt some Part of his Operations from him; and from thence, and what he had taken from the Method commonly practis'd when he began to cut, have invented the rest. (13) But this will be better understood when we have explained wherein his Operations consisted; and that, together with the Series of his Practice, as far as our Authors have handed it down to us, is what we now proceed to.

That he had cut for the *Stone* many times before he went to *Paris*, is evident from the great Number of Attestations which he brought along with him from *Besancon*, and several Towns and Villages in *Burgundy*, and other Provinces of *France*. He boasted extremely of the Success he had had, and his Credentials seem'd to confirm all he said; however, it appear'd soon after, by Letters from these Provinces, that these Attestations were given upon too slight grounds, and before any other Effect of his Operations, besides bare extracting the *Stone*, could be perceiv'd: his Way being to run from Place to Place, where there was any Employment for him; and as soon as he had perform'd an Operation, to engage the most considerable of the Spectators to sign a Certificate in his Favour, without ever allowing them Time to see whether the Patient recover'd or not; and when he had cut all that came in his way in one Place, he immediately left it and hastened to another, being solicitous about nothing but to make his Dexterity appear in taking out the *Stone*, and not at all about what should become of the Patient after the Operation. (14)

This is all we know of him before he arrived in *Paris*, which happened in the Month of *August* 1697. The Occasion of that Journey he gave out to be no other than to teach the Surgeons of the Hospitals there a new Way of Cutting for the *Stone*: And having found means to get an Acquaintance with Monsieur *Mareschal*, afterwards First Surgeon to the *French King*, he endeavour'd by his Interest to obtain leave to Cut in the Hospital of *La Charité*; but the Surgeons there, as well as those of the *Hotel Dieu*, being unwilling to trust the Lives of their

Patients in the Hands of a Stranger, of whose Abilities they were altogether ignorant, desired him first to make some Experiments in their Presence upon dead Bodies, which he readily consented to; and accordingly, as Monsieur *Dionis* relates, he perform'd his Operation on a Body, into the Bladder of which a Stone had been convey'd before by the Surgeons of the *Charité*, but not at all to their Satisfaction. (15)

Monsieur *Mery*, who was appointed by the First President of *Paris* (whom the *Leipsick Journalists* have mistaken for the President of the Royal Academy,) 16 to inspect these Experiments of *Frere Jaques* Operation, says nothing of any that were perform'd at the *Charité*; and concerning those which he was Witness to at the *Hotel Dieu*, he makes quite a different Judgment from what *Dionis* says was made by all the Surgeons who were present at that which he mentions.

On the 7th Day of *December*, says Monsieur *Mery*, I received Orders from the First President to go to the *Hotel Dieu*, and be present at the Extraction of a Stone out of the Bladder of a dead Body by *Frere Jacques*. He perform'd the Operation in this manner.

Having introduced into the Bladder a solid round Staff without a Groove, and of a different Figure from those used in the old Way of Cutting, he took a *Bistoury* like the common ones, only longer; and with that made an Incision on the Left and Inside of the Protuberance of the *Ischium*; and cutting obliquely from below upwards, he divided whatever came in his way between that Protuberance and his Staff, which he kept still in the Bladder. His Incision being finished, he thrust his Finger through the Wound into the Bladder, to find out the Stone; and having observed where it lay, he introduced an Instrument into the Bladder, of the Figure hereafter represented, to dilate the Wound, that the Stone might have more room to come out. Upon this *Dilator*, which he calls his *Conductor*, he thrust in a Pair of *Forceps*, and then drew out the *Conductor*; having felt for and laid hold of the Stone, he pulled the Staff out of the *Urethra*, then his *Forceps* and the Stone along with it. All this he did with a wonderful Facility, notwithstanding the Stone was as big as an Hen's Egg.

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The Operation being finished, I dissected the Parts which had been cut in Presence of the Physicians and Surgeons of the *Hotel Dieu*; by that means, and by comparing at the same time these Parts with those of the other Side, we observ'd that *Frere Jacques* had cut first about an Inch and an half deep in Fat, that from thence he had carried his Knife between the *Musculus Erector* and the *Left Accelerator*, but without wounding either of them; and lastly, that he cut through the whole Length of the Neck of the Bladder on one Side, and about half an Inch of the Body of it.

Two Days after this Experiment I waited on the First President, to give him an Account of my Observations, and at the same time my Opinion concerning *Frere Jacques* Operation: My Report was conceiv'd in these Terms.

S I R,

F *Frere Jacques* Method of Cutting appears to me to be much preferable to that commonly practis'd, because the Incision being made both in the Neck and Body of the Bladder, and the Stone extracted at the broadest part of the Angle made by the *Ossa Pubis*, comes out with great Ease, and without the least Force: But in the common Operation, as the Incision is only made in the *Urethra*, and the Stone drawn through the Neck of the Bladder, which remains entire, and at the narrowest part of the Angle of the *Ossa Pubis*, it is evident that the Extraction of the Stone through such strait Passages must be very difficult, and require a great deal of Force when of any considerable Bigness; from whence it is easy to conclude, that *Frere Jacques* Operation will not be liable to such dangerous Accidents as are found to attend the other; and that for these Reasons,

1. Because in his Way of Operating he cuts none of the Muscles of the *Penis*; whereas in the common Way the two *Accelerators* are entirely separated from one another, by the Incision which is made of the Place of their Union, that is, at their Origin; by which means these Muscles happen very frequently to lose their Action.

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“ 2. In making his Operation it must be owned, indeed, that he
“ cuts the Body of the *Prostates*, the whole Neck of the Bladder on one
“ Side, and a little of the Body; but these Parts having no considera-
“ ble Blood Vessels belonging to them, an *Hemorage* is not so much to
“ be feared as in the common Operation, in which the Incision is made
“ in the spongy and thick part of the *Urethra*, which receive a great
“ Quantity of Blood from the two Arteries of the *Penis*.

“ 3. His Operation can neither be followed by an *Echymosis*, Fluxion
“ nor Suppuration in the Membranes of the *Scrotum*, which happen so
“ frequently after the other; because the Place by which he gets into
“ the Bladder has not the same Communication with the *Scrotum* as
“ the *Perinaum*, in which the other Lithotomists begin their Incision.

“ 4. By making a large Wound in the Neck and Body of the Blad-
“ der, through which he easily draws out the *Stone*, he evites the Con-
“ tusion and Tearing, which in the common Operation almost constantly
“ happens, both to the Neck of the Bladder and *Prostates* which are
“ joined to it, and even to the *Urethra* itself when the *Stone* is large, or
“ its Surface rugged. And from hence it comes to pass, that the Parts
“ which he divides being only simply cut, will very easily reunite after
“ the Operation, and by this means *Fistulas* be in a great measure
“ prevented; whereas in the common Method, the Parts suffering
“ most commonly cause a violent Contusion, and a considerable Loss of
“ Substance by Suppuration, their Re-union is retarded, and thus Fi-
“ stulas are occasioned: But, however, I am inclin'd to believe, that
“ if *Frere Jacques* made his Incision two Inches higher up than the Place
“ where he now begins it, he might get into the Bladder in the same
“ manner, and yet the Wound not be so deep, and consequently sooner
“ healed; supposing always that Wounds in the Neck and Body of
“ the Bladder are not mortal, as has been hitherto believed, and
“ that the *Sphincter Muscle* may be reunited as exactly as it was before,
“ which Experience alone must determine.

“ As for the Instruments he uses, I cannot find that they are any
“ ways preferable to ours. On the contrary, his *Staff* seems to be
“ much more inconvenient, both because it forces the lower Part of the
“ *Urethra* too far outwards, and because not being *Grooved* it cannot be
“ so surely cut upon; for let *Frere Jacques* have never so steady a Hand,
“ the

"the Point of his *Bistoury* must be apt to slide either to one Side or other, upon a *Staff* which is exactly round."

"The *Conductor* which he thrusts into the Bladder after the Wound is made, is not at all proper to direct his *Forceps* thither, and can be of no manner of Service to dilate the Incision made in the Neck and Body of the Bladder, because that Incision is longer than the *Conductor* is broad; and besides the Wound may be dilated by the *Forceps* with this Advantage, that the Dilatation will never be more than is necessary, which is what no other Dilator can do."

The Account I have here given of Monsieur *Mery's* Observations made on dissecting the Parts cut by *Frere Jacques* in this first Tryal of his Operation, did not properly belong to this Part of my History; in which my Design is not to consider either the Structure of the Parts concerned in this Method of Cutting, nor the Judgment that has or may be formed from thence concerning the Advantages and Inconveniencies thereof. This I reserve for a distinct Head: But as Monsieur *Mery* did afterwards retract the greatest part of the favourable Opinion he had here conceiv'd of *Frere Jacques*, upon a more full Insight into his Operation, and as this is the first Tryal that we have any certain Account ever to have been made of it; I judged it necessary in entering upon the History of this Method of Cutting, to make the Reader thus far acquainted with the Nature of it, that the Sequel of this Relation might be the more easily understood.

What Effect this Report had upon the First President, and the other Persons to whom it was communicated, Monsieur *Mery* has not inform'd us; nor of any thing else that happen'd before the second Experiment was made, which was just a Week after the first.

On the 14th Day of the same Month of *December*, continues our Author, I went to the *Hotel Dieu*, by a second Order of the First President, to see *Frere Jacques* perform his Operation a second time. He cut the dead Body of a Child between Twelve and Fourteen Years of Age, and likewise of a Woman; into the Bladders of which *Stones* had been put as before. He cut the Boy exactly in the same manner as he did the Man, and I dissected the Parts cut in Presence of the Physicians and Surgeons of the *Hotel Dieu*. (17)

What was the Result of our Author's Observations we shall see elsewhere; as likewise the Account he here gives of *Frere Jaques* Method of Cutting Women. It is sufficient to remark in this Place, that the Judgment he makes of both these Operations was not near so favourable to the Monk as the former had been; and it may very well be, that this was the Reason of his leaving *Paris* so abruptly, as *Monsieur Dionis* informs us, tho' he has by Mistake placed the Time of his Journey two Months too early.

The Court was then at *Fontainebleau*, and thither our Operator resolved to steer his Course. Upon his Arrival, he address'd himself to *Monsieur du Chesne*, first Physician to the Princes of the Blood, having found means to procure some Letters of Recommendation to him, and we may be sure he did not forget to show him his whole Bundle of Certificates. *Monsieur du Chesne* was charm'd with the Account the Monk gave him of his Design in going to *Paris*, his Method of Cutting, and the great Number of Operations which he had perform'd: And out of a Zeal for the Welfare of his Fellow-Creatures, which can never be enough commended, he mentioned him to *Monsieur Fagon*, first Physician to the King; to *M. Bourdelot*, first Physician to the Dutcheß of *Burgundy*; and to several others besides; who all concluded that it would be worth while to see him cut: And for this purpose a Shoe-maker's Boy of *Versailles*, then at *Fontainebleau*, and who was troubled with the Stone, luckily offered himself. *Monsieur du Chesne* immediately sent him to a Nurse, and ordered him all manner of Necessaries. *Frere Jacques* perform'd the Operation in Presence of the Physicians, and of *Monsieur Felix*, then first Surgeon to the King. The Success answer'd their Expectation, and they were all perfectly satisfied with what they had seen, especially *Monsieur Felix*; who from that Moment took *Frere Jacques* home to his House, and kept him there all the time he staid at *Fontainebleau*.

This Operation we may easily conceive made a great Noise, and was published all over the Court. The Princes of the Blood were inform'd of it by *Monsieur du Chesne*, and he gave them an Account every Day of the Progress of the Cure. As for his own part, he look'd upon the Monk as a Man sent by God for the Relief of those who were afflicted with the Stone, by a more easy and less dangerous Method than any that had till then been known; and, indeed the first Effects of his Operation on the Shoemaker were extremely happy. It was perform'd

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very quickly, the Urine came out through the ordinary Passage a very short time after; no bad Accident superven'd, and the Patient was able to go abroad in three Weeks Time. (18)

This was the first Operation that ever we hear *Frere Jacques* perform'd, after his Arrival at *Paris*, on a living Body. It happen'd at Court, to which he went of his own Accord, not by Invitation, as we are told by *Mr. Cheselden*; and by the Success of that, not by the Reputation he had acquired by those he had cut before, he recommended himself to the Court.

Monsieur Dionis goes on to *Frere Jacques* Manner of Cutting; but the Account thereof sent to *Mr. Bussiere* from *Paris*, being prior to his in order of Time, it must for that reason be inserted before it. Here is the Description, says *Mr. Bussiere* to *Sir Hans Sloane*, of the Way of performing the Operation for the Extraction of the Stone out of the Bladder by Brother *James*, an Hermit in *France*, as I received it from *Paris*.

He maketh use of a Steel Staff, much bigger and shorter than those which are commonly made use of. It is shorter from the Top to the Bending of it, it bends more than ours; he hath but two, one for Men and another for Children.

His Conductor is slender and longer than ours; the Point whereof, which goes into the Bladder, being of the Figure of a Lozenge, is wide and open in the Extremity.

His Forceps have longer Branches than ours; but the Holds of them are shorter and wider, with many large Teeth within.

The *Eurethra* with which he draweth the Sand or Gravel, which remain sometimes in the Bladder after the Stone is out, is shorter than ours.

His Knife is much longer and slenderer than ours.

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He causeth the Patient to lie flat upon his Back, either upon his Bed or upon a Table, whereupon is a soft Quilt, in such a manner, that the Fundament is three or four Fingers over the Table, some Servants supporting his Legs and Thighs. He useth no Ligature to fasten the Patient, giving him more Liberty than we do; he causeth his Legs to be bent against the Thighs, but not the Thighs against the Belly, except the Left, which in his Operation he useth more or less, as he thinks fit.

Then he introduceth the *Catheter* or *Staff* into the Bladder; which, tho' bigger and shorter than ours, yet seemeth to run in easier. Very often he holdeth it himself with his Left Hand, pressing it close towards the Fundament, in order to dilate and extend the Membranes of the Bladder; then he feeleth with the Fingers of his Right Hand, to find out the *Staff* through the Skin; so having felt it, he runneth his Incision Knife, at the Bent of the Left Thigh, upon the fat Protuberance below the *Iscium* Bone, directly upwards by the *Rectum* to the Bladder, which he pierceth by its Neck, and sometimes a little above it. When he cutteth, the cutting Parts of his Knife are turned upwards and downwards. Having thus pierced the Bladder, which he knoweth by the Urine running out, then he turneth his Knife, and thrusteth it a little further, in order to open the Bladder wide enough that his Finger may go in easily; then he withdraweth his Knife, and enlargeth the Wound in the outward Parts, of the Length of two or three Inches; after which he thrusteth his Finger into the Bladder, in order to know more precisely the Bigness and Situation of the *Stone*, and make it loose, but chiefly to dilate the Overture of the Bladder, by tearing its Membranes.

Then he introduceth his *Conductor* into the Bladder, along this Finger which is in it.

When the *Conductor* is in the Bladder he taketh the *Staff* out, and introduceth the *Forceps* by the *Conductor* into it, with which he gets hold of the *Stone* and draweth it out.

If he finds any Difficulty, either in getting hold of the *Stone*, or in drawing it out, he useth all the Ways commonly used, raising the Left Thigh more or less, putting his Finger in the Fundament, and sometimes

times the Bladder, in order to examine the Situation of the *Stone*, and loosen it in case there might be any Adhesion with the Membranes of the Bladder. Having found out, and removed the Cause of the Difficulty, he thrusteth the *Forceps* again into the Bladder, and gets hold of the *Stone*, and pulls it out.

It is to be observ'd, that this second Time, nor any other, he useth no *Conductor*, the *Forceps* running in very easily. He never thrusteth his Finger or any Instrument into the Bladder, without steeping them in Oil of *Roses*. He never uses any *Dilatorium* or *Canula*, or Tents in the Wound, except some small Dossils in the Lips of the outward Wound, to keep them open for a little while. He useth no Ointments at all for the Wound, applying only a Pledget steeped in Oil of *Roses* upon it; for he understands nothing at all of the Way of dressing Wounds, nor in the Diet which the Patient is to observe; which Things he doth not value. In this Way he operates as dexterously as any of our best Operators. (19)

Wherein this Account of *Frere Jacques* Operation differs from the rest; and also wherein they all differ from one another, we shall be better able to show, when we have gone through all that belongs to the History of it.

The next Author, in order of Time, who has said any thing further about the Method of performing it, is *Saviard*; and he has only told us, that *Frere Jacques*, who cut several Patients in the *Hotel Dieu* in the Year 1698, used to leave a large ill-contriv'd *Catheter* in the Bladder till he had extracted the *Stone*. (20)

Dionis, to whom we now return, begins his Account of *Frere Jacques* Method, by observing, that he took no Pains to prepare his Patients for the Operation, and cared not whether they had been blooded and purged before-hand or not. He places the Patient upon the Edge of a Table set in a good Light, and then lays him upon his Back, with only a Pillow under his Head. He raises his Thighs, separates them wide from one another, bends his Legs so that his Heels and Buttocks almost meet, and sets two strong Men to keep him in that Posture, without

binding him at all, but trusting entirely to the Strength and Management of these Assistants.

The Patient being thus in a proper Situation, he introduces a greas'd Staff not groov'd, into the *Penis*, and holding it in his Left-hand, he thrusts out that part of the Bladder where he designs to make his Incision: Then taking in his Right a long *Bistoury* shaped like a Dagger, he plunges it near the Point of the Left Buttock, two Fingers breadth from the *Perinaeum*, and pushing it straight towards the Bladder, he cuts into the Body thereof as near the Neck as he can, making an Incision as wide as the Size of the Stone requires it, before ever he takes out his *Bistoury*.

He makes use of a *Conductor* in order to direct the *Forceps*, which is made pretty much of the same Shape with ours; but very often before he introduces this Instrument, he thrusts his Finger into the Wound to discover the Situation of the Stone. As soon as he lays hold of it with the *Forceps*, he pulls it out suddenly and roughly, never reflecting on the bad Consequences that such Violence may be attended with. If there be more Stones than one, he extracts all of them after the same manner; and when he finds there are none left, he believes his whole Work to be done, for he never thinks of getting any *Apparatus* ready before-hand, nor of dressing his Patients after the Operation. He uses no Astringents nor Defensives; all he does is to apply a little Oil and Wine to the Wound; and when he is put in mind of the Necessity there is of the Patient's being well looked after, his Answer is, I have extracted the Stone, I leave God to cure the Patient. (21)

Mr. *Chefelden*, in order to explain *Frere Jacques* new-invented Way of Cutting for the Stone, thinks it sufficient to tell us, that it was by the Direction of a Staff into the Bladder near the *Rectum*; and as he supposes this to be the same with that practis'd afterwards in *Holland* by Mr. *Rau*, we may gather this further, that he thought the Incision was made in the Bladder exactly betwixt the *Ureters*. (22)

Albinus informs us, that the Parts proposed to be cut in *Frere Jacques* Operation, were not the Neck of the Bladder, as had been anciently practis'd, nor the *Urethra* as was commonly done at that time; but the Blad-

Bladder itself on one Side, near the Neck, and a little towards the lower and back Part. In order to this the Patient was laid upon his Back, with his Knees erect, his Thighs bent, and kept at a small Distance from one another. The Incision was begun on the Side of the *Anus*, and afterwards the Knife was thrust obliquely inwards, and a little upwards all the way to that Part of the Bladder already described; and lastly, a Pair of *Forceps* introduced through the Wound to lay hold of and extract the *Stone*.

These are all the Accounts that I can find ever to have been publish'd concerning *Frere Jacques* Method of Cutting upon the *Staff*; and I have placed them all together, *Mery's* alone excepted, which came in more naturally before, that it may be easier for the Reader to compare them with one another, or at least to perceive the Truth and Exactness of the Comparison I shall lay before him in its proper Place.

Frere Jacques was sufficiently caref'd at *Fontainebleau*, not to think of leaving it while the Court remained there; but I hear of no other Operations he perform'd during his Stay. It had one good Effect however: By giving the News of his extraordinary Success, and the kind Reception he met with at Court, time to spread over *Paris*; he found his Reputation as a Lithotomist much better established upon his Return, than it could otherwise have been, tho' he had made a Thousand Experiments before the Physicians and Surgeons of the Hospitals. The Approach of the Court to *Paris* contributed further to this; and therefore no sooner had the King left *Fontainebleau* to go to *Versailles*, but *Frere Jacques* resolved to try his Fortune once more at *Paris*; if that can be called a Tryal, in which he knew the Genius of his Nation too well, not to be sure to succeed.

He arrived there about the Beginning of *April* 1698, having been between Three and Four Months absent. A very few Days after his Return, he cut a Woman nam'd *de Lorrain*, a Boy between Sixteen and Seventeen Years of Age, two Men and another Boy, and three more, at which *Monsieur Mery* was not present. The Days of the Month in which all these Operations were perform'd are not set down; but they must all have follow'd very close upon one another, for before the End of *April* he had made a Journey to *Versailles*, cut four People in an Hospital there, was return'd to *Paris*, and had cut in the Hospitals of that City,

City, having obtained what he so much desired, Leave so to do, in the manner we shall presently relate.

Concerning the Fate of these Twelve Patients, for I do not find that he cut any more, tho' it is very probable he did, Monsieur *Mery* informs us, that one of the *Parisians* died two Days after the Operation, another in three Days, another in the Month of *September* following, having never been cured; the rest lived, but in such a manner as did this new Method no great Honour, as we shall hear in the proper Place. *Mery* says nothing of his Journey to *Versailles*; but *Dionis* who mentions it owns, that all the Patients he cut there recovered in some sort or other. (23)

One of the Three last of the *Paris* Patients he cut upon the *Gripe*. This is the first time we hear of his Cutting for the *Stone* in that manner; and Monsieur *Mery* has given us the following Account of his Method. He introduces the Fore and Middle Fingers of his Left Hand through the *Anus* into the *Intestinum Rectum*; and pressing upon the Bladder behind with his two Fingers, and before with his Right Hand upon the Belly, he thrusts the *Stone* towards the *Perinaeum*, and keeps it there by means of the two Fingers which he holds firmly behind it. In his Right Hand he takes his *Bistoury*, and beginning at the Protruberance of the *Ischium*, he cuts all the Parts that lie between that and the *Stone*. So that his two Ways of Operating differ, not in the Course of the Incision, but only in the Instruments he uses, and the Manner of extracting the *Stone*; for whereas in the great *Apparatus* he cuts upon a *Staff*, and uses *Forceps* to draw out the *Stone*, in this he cuts upon the *Stone* itself, and takes it out by means of a *Curette* of about an Inch in breadth. First of all he dilates the Bottom of the Wound, by thrusting his *Conductor* into the Bladder; then forces in his *Curette* between the *Stone* and the upper internal Surface of the Bladder; and having got it behind the *Stone*, he raises the Handle of it with his Right Hand, the two Fingers of his Left remaining still in their former Place; and thus, in the same manner as a Weight is raised, or any other Obstacle removed by a Lever, he forces out the *Stone*. (24)

Mr. *Buffiere's* Correspondent has likewise taken Notice of this Method of Operating. Brother *James*, he says, very often cutteth the Patient upon the *Gripe*, almost in the same manner as was used formerly, except

except that he maketh the Incision in the same Place as for the former; this Way he liketh better than the other, and it seemeth to be more favoured by him, and indeed it is surer, tho' the pressing upon the Belly which he doth, is a very bad Method. (25)

Neither *Dionis*, nor any of the rest of our Authors, have so much as mention'd this second Way of Cutting. The Success that attended it we shall see as we go along.

We are now come to that Period of *Frere Jacques* Transactions at *Paris*; in which, as his Wishes seem'd to be entirely crown'd, so a speedy Foundation was laid for the Ruin of that Reputation which he had so unaccountably acquired. The Operations which he had perform'd immediately upon his Return from *Fontainebleau*, had so far succeeded, as that but Two Patients died out of Twelve that we know he cut. This, joined to the favourable Character that some Physicians from the Provinces gave of him at Court, and the great Merit that was made there of what had already happen'd to him at *Fontainebleau*, made the Magistrates of *Paris* (not the King, as far as we can learn either from *Mery* or *Dionis*, 26) begin to think seriously of allowing him to Cut in the two great Hospitals of that City. In order to that, however, the First President thought it proper to call together the Administrators of the *Hotel Dieu*, the Physicians and Surgeons belonging to it, and also Messieurs *Mery* and *Bessiere* who had before been commission'd by him to inspect *Frere Jacques* Experiments on dead Bodies, to hear their Sentiments upon a Matter wherein the Lives of the Sick People in that Hospital were so nearly concern'd. The Assembly was held in the Archbishop's Palace on the 24th Day of *April*, and Monsieur *Mery* was desired to give his Opinion the first. He has set down at length the Discourse he made upon that Occasion; in which he endeavours to oppose the Monk's being allow'd to Cut, as strenuously as he had in his former Report recommended him.

None of the other Physicians nor Surgeons pretended to dispute either the Facts allerdg'd by Monsieur *Mery*, or the Consequences he drew from them; but they thought, that considering the great Number of successful Operations which he had perform'd in the Provinces, as they were inform'd by the Physicians there residing, it would be hard to condemn his new Method altogether, upon account of a few unlucky

Experiments he had made of it at *Paris*, especially since the Publick was so much prejudiced in his Favour ; and therefore they gave it as their Opinion, that the surest Way was to admit him to make new Tryals, which he could by no other means do so well, as by being allowed to Cut in the *Hotel Dieu* ; and this was accordingly resolv'd on. (27)

He was at the same time admitted to the *Charité* ; and in these two Hospitals he Cut Sixty Patients, Forty two in the first, and Eighteen in the second, during the Space of one Season ; that is, at farthest between the 24th of *April* and the Beginning of *July* ; for by the 8th Day of that Month, he had left *Paris*, reached *Orleans*, (which is 100 Miles distant from it) and there perform'd an Operation.

The Crowds to see him Cut were inconceivable ; there was not a Physician nor Surgeon who did not strive to get in, insomuch, that they were forced to have Guards to keep off the Press ; and there have been Two Hundred Persons present at once at his Operations.

Of these Sixty Patients *Dionis* tells us more died than lived, and at the Time he wrote that may be true ; but by a Computation which Monsieur *Mery* made of the different Fate of them, about *September* following, as near as I can guess, since no Part of his Relation appears to have been written after that Time ; and it is certain it did not exceed a full Year, because towards the latter End of it he calls the Time in which *Frere Jacques* Cut in the Hospitals the last Spring : By this Computation, I say, it appears that Twenty Five died soon after the Operation ; Thirteen went from the Hospitals perfectly cured, as was thought, tho' afterwards he was inform'd that some of their Wounds had broke out afresh ; and Twenty Five remain'd in the Hospitals, some afflicted with Incontinence of Urine, others with Fistulas, and all of them so very low, that according to the Information he had received from the Officers and Servants of the Hospitals, there was on the 30th of *July* very little Hopes of their Recovery. On this Day, our Author says, he ended his Observations ; but as in other Places of his Book he mentions Facts which did not happen till *September*, it is plain they were retouched after that Time. (28)

Monſieur *Mery* was at Pains to examine the Bodies of ſuch as died after *Frere Jacques* Operations with a great deal of Care, and he has ſet down the Obſervations he made upon them: By theſe we may with great Certainty judge of the Merit of theſe Methods of Cutting for the Stone; but before we can proceed to that, ſome few Facts more, belonging to the Hiſtory of them, muſt firſt be related.

It is not mentioned, neither by *Mery* nor *Dionis*, how many died out of each Hoſpital; but it is probable that the Number was greater in Proportion to thoſe he Cut in the *Charité* than in the *Hotel Dieu*. *Dionis* ſays, that Seven died there in one Day; and from thence, and from a Quarrel which *Frere Jacques* is ſaid to have had with ſome of the Monks of that Houſe, it was, that he and his Friends took occaſion to trump up a fictitious Story, that the Monks ſometimes poiſon'd his Patients, and ſometimes cut other Parts in dreſſing their Wounds, than thoſe which he had touch'd, in order to diſcredit his Operation. This Story, how unlikely ſo ever, gained the Belief of great Numbers of People, and the Death of *Frere Jacques* Patients turned as much to his Honour, as his having ſaved the Lives of the reſt; but at length, when upon Diſſection of the dead Bodies, eſpecially of thoſe who had been Cut at the *Hotel Dieu*, in which there was no Suſpicion of any Fraud, the Ignorance of the Operator, and the Inconveniencies of the Operations, came to be plainly diſcovered, this Accuſation vaniſhed into Smoak; and with it the Reputation of *Frere Jacques*, and his Inter-eſt at *Paris*, which he had reaſon to think ſo well eſtabliſhed; ſo that it was ſoon afterwards reſolved that he ſhould be no more allowed to Cut in either of the Hoſpitals. (29)

What contributed very much to this ſudden Diſgrace of *Frere Jacques*, was the Death of the Mareſchal de l'Orge, which happened in the moſt cruel and lamentable Manner, the very next Day after he had been Cut by him; while at the ſame time Monſieur *Fagon*, who, notwithſtanding all the Sollicitations that were made to him, to put himſelf in the Hands of *Frere Jacques*, reſolved rather to truſt the Art of Monſieur Mareſchal, a ſkilful and regularly bred Surgeon, recovered perfectly after undergoing the ſame Operation. (30)

Frere Jacques finding his Credit quite ſunk at *Paris*, and that there was no Hope left of getting any more Employment there, thought his beſt

best Way was to withdraw to some other City in *France*; and *Orleans* was the Place he pitched upon. There, between the 8th and 15th Day of *July*, he perform'd Eight Operations, Five in the Publick Hospital of that City, and Three elsewhere; as we are inform'd by a Letter which Monsieur *Noel*, a Physician of *Orleans*, wrote to Monsieur *Mery*, dated *Sept. 13. 1698*. The Success of these Operations was every bit as bad as those he performed in the Hospitals of *Paris*. Three of the Eight Patients died within a few Days after the Operation; a Fourth before *September*, that is, in less than two Months after he was Cut; One recovered perfectly; and the other Three continued in a languishing State, being either troubled with an Incontinence of *Urine*, or very gross Symptoms of a *Fistula*. (31)

Dionis says, he Cut afterwards at *Lyons*, and in other Cities in *France*; but he must certainly be mistaken, since by an Advertisement in the *Amsterdam Gazette*, dated the 8th of *August*, it appears, that on the 28th of *July*, that is (allowing for the Difference of the *Stile*) only 23 Days after his last Operation at *Orleans*, he arrived at *Aix la Chapelle*. The Substance of that Advertisement is as follows:

“*Frere Jacques*, Operator for the *Stone* to the most Christian King,
“arrived at *Aix la Chapelle* on the 28th of *July*, to Cut a Man for the
“*Stone*; and he hereby gives Notice, that whoever are afflicted with
“that Distemper, the *Gravel*, or any kind of *Hernia* or *Rupture*, he
“will undertake to cure for nothing, the Rich as well as the Poor,
“only out of Charity and Benevolence to Mankind. He offers to all
“Surgeons to teach them his Way of Cutting, and all his other Operations
“*gratis*; and to all Physicians, to show them infallible Remedies
“against the *Gravel*. He lodges at Monsieur *Blondel*'s a Physician.
“His Operations are all New, and of his own Invention. That for
“the *Stone* in particular never endangers Life, and no *Fistula* is to be
“feared after it. He has perform'd it on Multitudes at *Paris* and *Ver-*
“*saillies*, in Presence of the Physicians and Surgeons of the King of
“*France*, and met with an universal Approbation. (32)

The *Stile* of this Advertisement shows, that it was published by the Monk's own Order; and from it, as well as several other Particulars of his History, it appears sufficiently that he must have been a most profligate abandon'd Wretch; and that under an outward Air of Simplicity

city and Self-denial, he concealed some secret Design or other, which perhaps the Multitudes of Persons that died under his Hands prevented his ever putting in Execution.

He gives himself out here not only for an Operator for the Stone, but a Curer of Ruptures. He had made some Experiments of his Talents that Way in Paris, and more at Orleans: His Patients all of them recovered after the Operation, at least we hear of none that died; but as it was always accompanied with Castration, it soon met with a general Disgust, and therefore he laid it aside during all the rest of the Time he remained at Paris. (33)

What Reception he found at *Aix la Chapelle* I have not as yet learned, nor whither he went from thence. It is certain he was afterwards in *Holland*, and Cut for the Stone there; as we learn from *Albinus* in the following Words, "While *Rau* taught Anatomy and practis'd Surgery at *Amsterdam*, *Freere Jacques* arrived there to practise his new Method of Cutting for the Stone, as he had already done in *France*. For this purpose he obtained a Permission from the Civil Magistrate; and *Rau* was frequently present at his Operations, which he highly blamed and condemn'd. This Freedom of his gave some Umbrage at first, and he found himself obliged to hold his Tongue; but afterwards, when they saw that all he had said was confirmed by the Event, *Freere Jacques* Permission was taken from him, and *Rau* made Publick Lithotomist in his Room.

To begin therefore by the Preparation of the Patient, the first Step towards all Operations of this kind; During the only Author who has said any thing about it, assures us, that *Freere Jacques* looked upon Blooding, Purging, and every thing else that goes under that Name, as Things indifferent, and of no Consequence to the Success of the Operation; and indeed this agrees so well with the Character we have given of him, and especially in those Cases he usually made in the Place where he Cut, that there can be no room to doubt of the Truth of it.

I CHAP. The Instruments he made Use of were such a Culinar or Staff. In describing this, all our Authors agree well enough; and from what they have said, we may conclude that it was made of Steel, solid, round, without a Groove, thicker and shorter than those used in the common Way.



CHAP. II.

A Comparison of the several Descriptions that have been given of Frere Jacques Methods of Cutting Males.

IN the foregoing History I have collected all that I can find in Authors concerning the two Methods used by *Frere Jacques* in Cutting Men ; but as these Accounts are not only some of them more full and compleat than others, but likewise differ from one another in several Particulars, I have thought it necessary to compare them together ; it being impossible to judge as we ought concerning the true Merit of an Operation, except we be first thoroughly acquainted with the true Manner of performing it.

To begin therefore by the Preparation of the Patient, the first Step towards all Operations of this kind ; *Dionis*, the only Author who has said any thing about it, assures us, that *Frere Jacques* looked upon Bleeding, Purging, and every thing else that goes under that Name, as Things indifferent and of no Consequence to the Success of the Operation ; and indeed this agrees so well with the Character we have given of him, and especially the short Stay he usually made in the Places where he Cut, that there can be no room to doubt of the Truth of it.

The Instruments he made Use of were first a *Catheter* or *Staff*. In describing this, all our Authors agree well enough ; and from what they have said, we may conclude that it was made of Steel, solid, round, without a Groove, thicker and shorter than those used in the common
Way,

Way, shorter from the Top to the Bending, and bent more; that he had two sorts, one for Men, and one for Children, differing only in Size; and that before he used it, he always dip'd it in Oil of Roses, or some such thing.

His Incision Knife, or *Bistoury*, as it is call'd in *French*, differ'd from the common one chiefly in Length. *Buffiere* adds, that it was slenderer; and *Dionis*, that it was shaped like a Poinard or Dagger.

Mery has given us a Figure of his *Dilator* or *Conductor*, by which it will be better understood than by any Description that has been made of it. *Dionis* says in general, that it is pretty much of the same Shape with the common one, which I believe is pretty far from being true. But Mr. *Buffiere*'s Description will agree very well with *Mery*'s Figure. His *Conductor*, says he, is slender; and longer than the common one; the Point whereof, that is all that Part which goes into the Bladder, being of the Figure of a Lozenge, is wide and open in the Extremity.

His *Forceps* no Author has described except Mr. *Buffiere*, that is, they all believed it to be like the common one; but he tells us, that the Branches are longer, and the Holds shorter and wider, with many large Teeth within. It is for the same Reason that they say nothing of his Scoop; but Mr. *Buffiere* takes Notice, that that Instrument, which he calls an *Eurethra*, is shorter than the common sort.

The Situation of the Patient, Number and Office of the Assistants, follow next in Order. About all these Monsieur *Mery* is entirely silent; *Buffiere*, *Dionis* and *Albinus* agree, except in a very few Particulars. The Patient is laid upon his Back on a Bed or Table, with a soft Quilt under him, or only a Pillow under his Head, in such a manner that the Fundament is Three or Four Inches over the Edge of the Table, the Thighs erect, not bent towards the Belly, and at a good Distance from one another; (*Albinus* says they are bent, and not much separated;) the Legs bent so as that the Heels do almost touch the Buttock; and in this Posture he is kept by two strong Assistants, without the help of any Ligature, so that the Operator is at Liberty to move any Part, as he thinks convenient.

The Patient being placed in this manner, *Mery* tells us that *Frere Jacques* introduceth his *Catheter* into the Bladder; and *Buffiere* adds, that tho' it be bigger and shorter than the common ones, yet it seems to run in easier; that he very often (*Dionis* says always) holds it in his Left Hand, and presses it close towards the Fundament, in order to dilate or thrust out that Part of the Bladder which he designs to Cut, till he can feel it with his Fingers through the Skin. *Albinus* seems to think that *Frere Jacques* made Use of no Staff in his Operation; for besides, that he does not mention it in the Account he has given us, he makes the Addition *Rau* made to *Frere Jacques* Operation to consist in a Staff, which he compares not with the Staff used by him, as he naturally ought to have done, in order to show wherein *Rau's* was preferable to his, but with that used in the great Apparatus.

When *Frere Jacques* had felt the *Catheter* through the Skin, he began to make an Incision on the Left and Inside of the Protuberance of the *Ischium*, and so cutting on obliquely from below upwards, he divided whatever came in his Way till he reached his *Catheter*; and it appears by all *Mery's* Dissections, from whom these Words are taken, that his Design was to cut the Neck of the Bladder length-ways, and as much of the Body of it as the Size of the Stone required.

Buffiere describes his Incision thus: He runneth his Knife at the Bent of the Left Thigh, upon the fat Protuberance, below the *Ischium* Bone, directly upwards by the *Rectum* into the Bladder, which he pierceth by its Neck, and sometimes a little above it. This Account disagrees with the former, chiefly in the Course of the Incision from its Beginning till it reached the Bladder.

According to *Dionis*, the Knife was plunged near the Point of the Left Buttock two Fingers breadth from the *Perinaeum*, and from thence pushed directly forwards into the Body of the Bladder, as near the Neck as he could, and all this before ever he took out his Knife. Here the Neck of the Bladder is supposed to remain entire, which is contrary to both *Mery* and *Buffiere's* Observations.

The first part of Mr. *Cheselden's* Account of his Way of Cutting, that it was by the Direction of a Staff into the Bladder near the *Rectum*, may be

be either true or false, just as he understood it; but the second Part, that the Bladder was cut exactly betwixt the *Ureters*, can never be true. This shall be shown in describing the Structure of the Parts concerned in this Operation.

Albinus has copied *Dionis's* Mistake about the Neck of the Bladder not being cut; but what he says further, that the Incision was begun on the Side of the *Anus*, and afterwards the Knife thrust obliquely inwards and a little upwards into the Side of the Bladder near its Neck, and a little towards the lower and back Part; is exactly agreeable to what we have heard from *Mery*.

This being the Part of *Frere Jacques* Method, which is of the greatest Consequence to be rightly understood, I thought it proper to bring here under one View all that has been said about it.

The Incision being made, *Mr. Mery* acquaints us further, that he thrust his Finger through the Wound into the Bladder, to find out the Stone; and having observed where it lay, he introduced his *Conductor* to dilate the Wound, if the Bigness of the Stone required it, and also that it might direct his *Forceps* into the Bladder. As soon as the *Forceps* had entered there, he drew out his *Conductor*, and also the *Staff* out of the *Urethra*; then having felt for and laid hold of the Stone with the *Forceps*, he extracted both of them together.

Busfierre's Account of this Part of the Operation disagrees with *Mery's* chiefly in this, that he supposes the Wound to be dilated by the Knife and Finger only, not by the *Conductor*; that he makes him enlarge the outward Part of it Two or Three Inches after the first Incision is finished; and that the *Staff* is taken out before the *Forceps* is introduced. He has likewise made this very considerable Addition to *Mr. Mery's* Relation, that when the Monk found any Difficulty, either in getting hold of the Stone, or in drawing it out, he used all the Ways commonly practis'd, raising the Left Thigh more or less, putting his Finger in the Fundament, and sometimes into the Bladder, in order to examine the Situation of the Stone, and loosen it in case there might be any Adhesion with the Membranes of the Bladder. Having found out and removed the Cause of the Difficulty, he thrusts the *Forceps* again into

the Bladder, gets hold of the *Stone*, and pulls it out; and at this time he used no *Conductor*, the *Forceps* running in very easily.

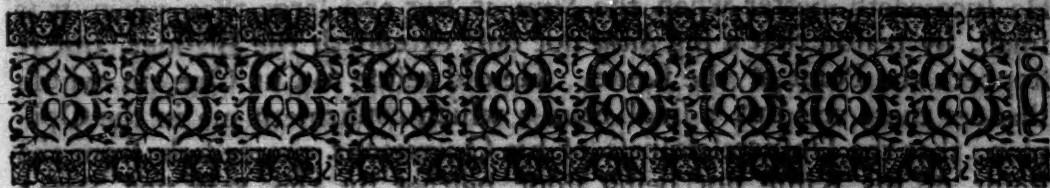
Saviard makes the *Staff* remain in the Bladder till the *Stone* is extracted. This I take to be a Mistake, because it not only contradicts the two former Accounts, but because by this means it must have been more difficult to search for, and lay hold of the *Stone* with the *Forceps*.

Dionis agrees with *Mery* in the few Things he has said, without having made any material Addition; and *Albinus* has mentioned the Extraction of the *Stone* with the *Forceps* in very general Terms.

As for the Care of the Patient after the Operation, and the Dressing of the Wound, both *Bussiere* and *Dionis* inform us, that *Frere Jacques* neglected that almost entirely, or at least left it to other People; and amongst all the Operations that he perform'd in the Hospitals of *Paris*, I cannot learn from *Mery* that ever he applied the least Thing to any Patient whatever.

In the Comparison which I have here made of *Frere Jacques* first Method of Cutting, I have taken care to point out the Mistakes of the several Accounts we have of it, as far I could with any Certainty conclude there were any to be found. As for the other Particulars in which they disagree, and about which I have not ventured to determine any Thing, it may very well be supposed that they have all of them a real Foundation; since it is more than probable, that at different Times, and on different Subjects, the Monk may have operated different Ways.

There is no room for such a Comparison of his Method of Cutting upon the *Gripe*; for besides, that the only thing in which it differs from the Old Operation that goes under that Name, was in the Place where the Incision was begun, we have no particular Account of it but from *Monsieur Mery*, and that has been already set down.



C H A P. III.

Judgments concerning Frere Jacques Method of Cutting Males.

HAVING now finished the History of *Frere Jacques* Operations for the Stone, and compar'd all the Parts of his Method of Cutting, as far as there is any thing to be met with in Authors about it; we are fully in a Condition to understand the Judgments that the same Authors have made concerning the Advantages and Inconveniencies that must attend it; together with the Reasons upon which their several Decisions have been founded.

Monfieur Buffiere, as has been already said, was the first who ventured to publish his Thoughts about these Operations, first in the Name of his Correspondent, and then in his own.

His Friend's Opinion is, that *Frere Jacques* Way of Cutting is not so sure as the ancient Way, by which he means that of *Marianus*; and that for these two Reasons: First, Because the Point of the Knife not being directed by the Staff, he is always in danger of piercing all the Membranes of the Bladder through and through; and, Secondly, Because the Place whereupon he maketh the Incision being full of considerable Vessels, one can hardly avoid Cutting of some of them; and accordingly it was observed in almost all that died in his Hands, that there was a great deal of Blood in the Bladder, and in some in the Cavity of the *Abdomen*.

The

The Author goes on to illustrate these two Reasons in this Manner; He succeedeth better when the *Stone* is big and large than when it is small, by reason that a big *Stone* not only extendeth the Bladder, but it stoppeth the Point of the Knife. He did refuse to Cut One, in whose Bladder there was but a small *Stone*; which confirmeth me in the Opinion, that the Unsuccessfulness of his Operations proceedeth from the Point of his Knife not being stopt neither by the *Staff* nor *Stone*; for when there is but a small *Stone*, the Bladder being empty, he must necessarily cut the whole Bladder throughly, and consequently cut some of its own Vessels, which causeth the *Hemorrhage*, which is the better voided when the *Stone* is large.

Thus far Monsieur *Bussiere's* Friend; and what he adds as his own Opinion is not much different, except in the Experiments he has made to prove how reasonable it is. I cannot approve the Hermit's Way, says he, on all Occasions; yet I think it might be successfully improved (by which he can mean no more than that it might be used) in some particular Cases. What these Cases are, will appear by the Observations he made about it, after he had received his Friend's Account.

I took a Body, continues he, in the Bladder of which I put a *Stone*; the *Staff* being in the Bladder, I did press it downwards hard enough as to be felt through the Teguments, and made the Incision upon it in the Bent of the Thigh, in order to know whether it would not be a surer Way by securing the Point of the Knife; by that Way I got my *Conductor* and *Forceps* into the Bladder, and drew the *Stone* very easily; but afterwards, by the Dissection of the Body, I found that the Artery of the *Penis* and the *Vesicula Seminales* were cut through and through; which cannot be avoided, because the Artery and *Vesicula* lie immediately under that Part of the Bladder which the *Staff* presseth upon.

I took another Body, and having put in the Bladder a small *Stone*, I made the Incision much lower, and pierced the Bladder under the *Staff*, by which Incision I drew the *Stone*; then dissecting the Body I found the Bladder cut through and its Arteries, which can hardly be avoided, the Bladder being then so much contracted, that both Sides of the Bladder are cut, before the Operator either feels the *Stone*, or sees any Urine running out.

I took a third Body, in the Bladder of which I put a very large Stone; the Staff being in it, I made the Incision upon the fat Protuberancy under the *Ischium* Bone; and piercing the Bladder below the Staff, I found immediately the Stone with the Point of the Knife, with which I cut the Bladder the Length of an Inch; through which having introduced the Conductor, and then the Forceps, I got hold of the Stone, and drew it out very easily. Then I did dissect the Body, and found that neither the *Vesiculae Seminales* nor any Artery had been cut, by reason that the Weight of the Stone pressed the Bottom of the Bladder lower than the *Vesiculae* and Arteries.

Monfieur *Buffiere's* two first Experiments, we see, confirm his Friend's two Reasons against this Method; and the third serves for a Foundation for his own Opinion in favour of it in some particular Cases; that is, he thinks that this Way might be made use of when the Stone is very big, and willingly I would prefer it, says he, to the old Way; for by this Way we avoid that extraordinary and violent Dilatation of the Neck of the Bladder, which the Stone causeth when it is very big, and which is the Cause of the Inflammation and Mortification of the Bladder that killeth the Patient. But when the Stone is very small, or but of an indifferent Bigness, the old Way is easier and surer.

Monfieur *Buffiere* has given us his Judgment of *Frere Jacques* Method of Cutting on the *Gripe* likewise: I cannot approve, says he, the Cutting upon the *Gripe*; because, in that Way one cutteth through the *Prostates*, which destroys the Parts of Generation. I have observ'd, that all those who have been Cut by that Method, were never fit for Generation. (35)

Dr. *Lifter* was at *Paris* when *Frere Jacques* was there, and saw him frequently Cut. The principal Thing to be remarked in what he has said about his Method, is the favourable Judgment he makes of it; and therefore I have chosen to insert the whole Passage in this Place.

Another popular Disease at *Paris*, says the Doctor, is the Stone; and there are Men well practis'd in the Cutting for it. There are also two

Hospitals where great Numbers are cut Yearly, *La Charité* and *Hotel Dieu*; but that which I shall here most insist upon is the New Way practis'd by *Pere Jacques*, a Monk. About the 20th of *April* he Cut in the *Hotel Dieu* Ten in less than an Hour's time; the third Day after, all were hearty and without Pain but One.

He Cuts both by the Great and Little *Appareil*; in both he boldly thrusts in a broad Launcet or Stiletto into the middle of the Muscles of the Thigh near the *Anus*, till he joins the *Catheter* or *Staff*, or the Stone betwixt his Fingers; then he widens the Incision of the Bladder, in Proportion to the Stone, with a Silver Oval Hoop; if that will not do, he thrusts in his Four Fingers and tears it wider, then with the *Ducks Bill* he draws it out.

I saw him cut a second time in the *Hotel Dieu*, and he perform'd it upon Nine Persons in Three Quarters of an Hour very dextrously. He seemed to venture at all, and put me into some Disorder with the Cruelty of the Operation, and a stouter *Englishman* than my self; however, I visited them all in their Beds, and found them more amaz'd than in Pain.

Pere Jacques cut also his Way in the other Hospital *La Charité*, much about the same time, Eleven at twice. Here *Monsieur Marechal*, the best of the Surgeons now in *Paris* for this Operation, harangued against him before the Governours; who coldly answered, they would be determined by the Event which Way was best.

Of those Cut at *La Charité*, One died; and being dissected, it was found he had his Bladder pierced in four or five Places, also the *Musculus Psoas* sadly mangled, also the Left *Vesicula Seminales* cut. Notwithstanding this, if this Method was well executed by a skilful Hand, it might be of good Use to Mankind.

Since my Return I had a Letter from Mr. *Probie*, a very learned and industrious young Gentleman, who was with me to see the Operation; that Part relating to this Matter I shall here transcribe. Indeed, I migh-

mightily long'd for an Account of this Matter, the Success of which I came away too soon to learn any thing for certain.

Paris, August 2. 98.

“ **P**ere Jacques Reputation mightily slackens; out of Forty Five that
 “ he Cut at the *Hotel Dieu*, but Sixteen of them survive; and of
 “ Nineteen in the *Charité*, but Eleven. He has practis'd at the Hospi-
 “ tals at *Lyons*; but, 'tis said, with more Success than at *Paris*. I am
 “ sensible he has got Abundance of Enemies, which makes me very
 “ much question what I may hear said of him. Dr. Fagon, the King's
 “ Physician, told Dr. Tournesfort, when he went to present his Book to
 “ him, that he had Cut Seven at *Versailles*, and that Six of them are a-
 “ live, and as well as if never Cut. The Person that died was so di-
 “ stemper'd, that he was not expected to live; and it was thought if he
 “ had not been Cut, he had not lived so long. The Surgeons have a
 “ great mind to cry down the Man, tho' they practise his Method;
 “ for *Marechal* has since Cut after *Pere Jacques* Manner, only with this
 “ Difference, that *Marechal's Catheter* was canulated. *La Rue*, the Se-
 “ cond Surgeon of the *Charité* Hospital, Cut after the Old Manner, at
 “ the same time when *Marechal* Cut *Pere Jacques* Way, but had not so
 “ good Success as *Marechal* had; for all that *Marechal* Cut are alive and
 “ well, whereas the other lost One or Two of his Number; besides,
 “ those that lived were not so soon cured, no not by a Month or Six
 “ Weeks.” Thus far Mr. *Probie*.

I now go on to Monsieur *Mery*; and in relating the many Observa-
 tions he has given us concerning *Frere Jacques* Operations, I shall observe
 this Order; first, to set down the Observations themselves in the same
 Order of Time in which they were made; and Secondly, Make a me-
 thodical Extract of the Reasonings and Conclusions he draws from
 them.

What the first Experiments made by *Frere Jacques* furnished him
 with upon both these Heads, has been already taken Notice of. Upon
 dissecting the Body of the Boy on which the second Tryal was made,
 our Author observed, that the Monk had cut the *Accelerator Muscle*,
 which remained untouched in the former; and that the Beginning of
 the *Urethra*, the Neck, and that Part of the Body of the Bladder which
 lies near the back Part of the *Os Pubis*, were so much torn as to be al-
 most

most entirely separated from the rest. These Accidents he judged were to be imputed to the Tenderneſs of the Parts, the Largeneſs of the Monk's Finger which he thrusts into the Bladder, and the too great Length of his *Staff*; and from this we may probably infer, that he was not at that time provided with such a *Staff* proper for Boys, as we are assured he afterwards made Use of. (36)

The first living Person he Cut at *Paris* was a Woman. Out of the second he extracted Four or Five large *Stones*. The Patient lost a great deal of Blood in the Operation, and three Days afterwards a very great *Hemorrhage* happen'd, the Blood coming out through the Wound, the *Penis* and *Anus* at the same time; which made it plain that the *Intestinum Rectum* had been cut; and accordingly he voided two Worms by the Wound, and Excrements were found upon the Tents applied to it. He had afterwards a *Fistula*, and died about two Months after the Operation, but his Body was never opened. (37)

Of Three others which Monsieur *Mery* saw *Frere Jacques* Cut soon after, one died of an *Hemorrhage* in two or three Days; Another was afflicted with a Tumour in the Groin different from an *Hernia*, and an Incontinency of Urine, tho' his Wound was cicatriz'd; the Third our Author could hear nothing of. (38)

The first Person that he cut upon the *Gripe*, died two Days after the Operation; and being opened, his Bladder was observed to be torn as with an Iron Comb, by the *Forceps* and *Curette*, which had been several times thrust into the Wound. (39)

The other Observations which Monsieur *Mery* has given us, were made on the Bodies of such as *Frere Jacques* had Cut in the two Hospitals. The first dead Body he dissected, was of a Man who died Five Days after the Operation; his *Scrotum*, *Penis* and Bladder were gangreen'd, and the Left *Levator Ani* cut according to the Direction of the Fibres. In the Bladder remained one Piece of *Stone* of the Size of a Man's Thumb, and another smaller which was lodged between the Membranes of it.

In

In the Second, the Intestines were all over inflamed, and some Parts of them gangren'd. The Cavity of the *Abdomen* was filled with a stinking ferous Matter, the thickest Parts of which glewed the Intestines to one another, and also to the Bladder, *Peritonæum* and *Mesentery*. The Bladder itself was gangrened, and there was a Wound in the Bottom of it, by which the Cavity of it had a Communication with that of the *Abdomen*: This Wound was round, and consequently in all Probability made with the *Catheter*. There was likewise a Wound in the Neck of the Bladder, on that Side which lies next the *Rectum*, two Inches deep and one broad, with a Bit of *Stone* still sticking in it.

The Third Body had been Cut on the *Gripe*, and the Operator had begun his Incision an Inch and a half higher than in the rest. The Cavity of the *Abdomen* was here likewise filled with a stinking pituitous Matter, which glewed the Intestines in the *Hypogastrick Region* to the Bladder, and they were also very much inflamed. The Neck of the Bladder was quite separated from the *Urethra*, and the whole Body of it inclining to a Gangrene. It was thicker and harder than ordinary, and between it and the *Peritonæum* there was found a great Quantity of Urine and extravasated Blood. The *Intestinum Rectum* was bruised and shattered, and of a livid Colour.

Mery's Fourth Observations were made on Five Dead Bodies, Four of which had been Cut two Days before, the Other some time longer. But in this last the Lower Belly was so much corrupted, that it was impossible for him to examine whence that terrible Disorder proceeded. In the rest he found the *Urethra* cut off from the Bladder, and the Bladder separated from the *Os Pubis*; so that the Nerves, Arteries and Veins of the *Penis* being by this means either broken or cut, there was a great Quantity of Blood between the *Peritonæum* and the *Viscera* of the *Hypogastrick Region*; the most Part of which were very much bruised. In one of these Bodies the Intestines were every where inflamed, and in some Places gangrened, the Cavity of the *Abdomen* being filled with Pus. In two others it was filled with a ferous Matter dy'd with Blood. Four of these Patients, as Monsieur Mery was inform'd, had been Cut upon the *Gripe*.

His Fifth Observations were made upon the Bodies of Six Children, some of whom had been Cut upon the *Gripe*, and others upon the *Staff*. In

all of them he found the Bladder separated from the *Urethra* and *Os Pubis*, the Blood Vessels of the *Penis* broken or cut, the *Rectum* and all the Parts thereabout bruised, because the Monk had thrust his Fingers into the *Anus* of them all. Moreover, in one of them the Bladder was cut with the *Bistoury*, from the back to the fore Part; in another, from the Left Side to the Right near the Neck. He found likewise a great deal of extravasated Blood; which, together with the Contusion of the Parts, had produced in some of them Inflammations and Gangreens, in others considerable Abscesses, the Matter of which run out at the Wound,

The next were made on the Body of a Boy between Thirteen and Fourteen Years of Age, whom *Frere Jacques* had Cut upon the *Gripe*. Besides that, the Bladder was separated from the *Os Pubis*, he found the *Hemorrhoidal* Arteries cut, which had produced an *Hemorrhage* at two different Times; and that, together with the Mortification of the Wound, were the chief Causes of his Death. What was further peculiar to this Operation was, that in pushing his Knife towards the Bladder, *Frere Jacques* had open'd three different Passages, one at the lower Part of the *Scrotum*, the second between the Bladder and the *Rectum*, the third between the *Peritonaeum* and the Outside of the Bladder.

The Seventh dead Body was of a Child, which had likewise been Cut upon the *Gripe*; the Cavity of the *Omentum*, as well as the *Abdomen*, was full of a ferous stinking Matter, the Sediment of which had glewed the Intestines to the Bladder, and all of them were gangrened at the Place of their Union. The *Rectum* was livid, and that as well as the Bladder surrounded by a fetid Ulcer, the Matter of which run out at the Wound. In order to extract this Stone, *Frere Jacques* run his Knife from the Protuberance of the *Ischium*, between the *Rectum* and *Peritonaeum*, and entred the Body of the Bladder without touching either the Neck or *Urethra*, making a Wound about five Inches deep, which he could not do without Cutting a great Number of Blood Vessels, and cruelly dilacerating the Parts.

The Eighth Body was of a Child, who died near a Month after the Operation; but not having been opened, the only Observation that could be made was, that during all that Time the Wound continued open, and that the Urine came out that Way.

The

The next Male Body was likewise of a young Boy, who died six Weeks after he had been Cut. The Wound remained still open, and was of a very livid Colour. Between the *Rectum*, *Os Sacrum* and *Peritoneum* there was a fetid Ulcer, the Matter of which run out at the Wound; the Neck of the Bladder was parted from the *Penis*, and the Vessels of the *Penis* cut. The *Rectum* was wounded and gangrened; and by this last Accident it appears, that this Child had been Cut upon the *Gripe*. The Cavity of the *Hypogastrium* was filled with a serous purulent Matter.

The next Observations are taken from great Numbers of dead Bodies; and, in respect of the rest, may well be called General Observations. In Three Patients Cut by *Frere Jacques*, says our Author, Worms were seen to come out; in one through the Wound, in the other two through the *Urethra*; which makes it plain that the *Intestinum Rectum* had been Cut in all of them, and a Communication opened, in the first between that and the Wound, and in the rest between it and the Bladder. Again, it was observed that most of his Patients died with Convulsions, and all of them with a greater Loss of Blood than commonly happens to those who are Cut the Old Way.

The two last Observations were made on the same Body, partly before and partly after the Death of the Patient. About seven Weeks after he had been Cut, his Wound was looked upon to be in a very good State, but as far from being closed as at the Beginning: both Urine and a purulent glearous Matter, mixed with Gravel, continued to run through it, and the Patient was still in a very weak Condition. In nine Weeks after he died, and his Body being opened, he was found to have a *Fistula*; the Entry thereof was very narrow, but farther in it was an Inch broad, and five Inches in Length, reaching from the Bent of the Buttock (*Moignon de la fesse*) to the Neck of the Bladder, and from thence between the Body of it and the *Rectum*. Into the innermost Part of it run Matter from an Abscess which lay between the *Os Sacrum* and the *Rectum*. All the Parts contained in the *Hypogastrium* were very black; and as there is no room to doubt but that the first Cause of the *Fistula* was owing to the Incision, it is likewise probable, that before or after having cut that Part of the *Urethra* which joins to the Neck of the Bladder, he had lost his Way; since the Body of the *Fistula* lay between the Bladder and the *Rectum*, and since it was evidently impossible for him to make an Incision five Inches deep, without cutting

ting many Vessels, and also making the Parts suffer an extreme Violence, in extracting the *Stone*; there is reason to think, that from these two Causes proceeded that Fluxion which produced the Abscess, the Matter of which had corrupted the Parts. (40)

These are the Observations which *Mery* has given us, concerning the Accidents which either attended or followed upon *Frere Jacques* Operation; and by seeing them all here at length, the Reader will not only have the Satisfaction of observing all the various Kinds of them, but likewise which of them happen'd most frequently, and in how many different Manners they were combined in different Subjects.

What the Author has remarked in several Places, concerning the particular Parts cut in particular Operations, will serve to confirm and illustrate an Observation I have already made, That it is not always a Proof, that where the Accounts which have been given of *Frere Jacques* Methods of Cutting are different from one another, some of them must be false; since by the Instances our Author has here set down, it is evident, that in the Course of his Operations at *Paris*, he differed as much from himself as those Accounts do from one another.

I go on, in the next Place, to the Conclusions which *Monseigneur Mery* has drawn from these Observations, as far as they relate either to the Operations themselves, or to *Frere Jacques* as the Operator.

To begin by the Operations: The first Conclusion concerning these, which I shall mention from *Monseigneur Mery*, is, that in both *Frere Jacques* Methods of Cutting, it is a very difficult Matter not to separate the Neck of the Bladder from the *Urethra*. This Proposition he proves thus: That Part of the *Urethra* which is join'd to the Neck of the Bladder, being situated in the Angle formed by the Union of the *Ossa Pubis*, and the flat Part of the Incision Knife being laid to the Inside of these Bones, and of the Protuberance of the *Isehium*, it is impossible to reach the *Urethra* but in an Oblique Line; it must therefore necessarily be cut obliquely: Accordingly when he used the Staff, he cut it half thorough, and consequently destroy'd half its Force; wherefore the Resistance of the *Urethra* being now weaker than the Effort which

he must make to draw the *Stone* through the Neck of the Bladder, which in this Case remains entire, the rest of the *Urethra* is quite torn off and broken; to which this likewise very much conduces, that as he draws the *Stone* from above downwards in the Direction of the Wound, the Neck of the Bladder is forced out of the Direction of the Canal of the *Urethra*, and by this Means more easily separated from it. The same Accident may likewise follow from the Violence he is obliged to use, in order to introduce either his *Forceps* or his Finger into the Bladder.

When he cuts upon the *Gripe*, the Case is still more evident; for as here in making the Incision, he has not the *Staff* to direct and resist his Knife, the *Urethra* is liable to be cut quite through at once, as often as he meets with that Part of it which lies between the Inside of the *Os Pubis* and the Neck of the Bladder; and to this, as we have seen, was owing the Death of many of the Children whom he cut this Way. (41)

A Second Conclusion drawn by Monsieur *Mery* is, that it is almost impossible to prevent both Incontinency of Urine and Fistulas in *Frere Jacques* Ways of Operating. To prove this, our Author begins by observing, That in these Methods it is absolutely necessary, that either the *Urethra* alone be cut, or the Neck of the Bladder alone, or the Body of it alone, or lastly, the Neck and Body together: If the *Urethra* alone be cut, and be not torn afterwards from the Bladder, he thinks such Patients may recover perfectly. If either the Neck of the Bladder alone, or the Neck and Body together are cut, it is evident that the *Sphincter* must be cut likewise; and as this Muscle can never recover again its former Tone, an Incontinency of Urine must ensue, tho' the Wound be never so well cured. If the Body of the Bladder alone be cut, a Fistula is inevitable, which he thus proves: The Use of the *Sphincter* is to shut the Bladder, and hinder the Urine from running out, except when the Bladder being compressed by the Muscles of the *Abdomen*, the Urine is by this means, and by the Elasticity of its own Fibres driven towards the Neck of it, with a Force which is greater than the Resistance of the *Sphincter*: But if when this Force is apply'd, at the time that the Bladder is wounded, the Resistance will be less this Way than that which is made by the *Sphincter*, and consequently the Urine must flow out at the Wound, by the Continuance of which a Fistula will be formed. (42)

Thirdly, The Incontinence of Urine and Fistulas which happen from this Way of Cutting are altogether incurable. Both these Inconveniencies, our Author observes, may attend the old Method; but then, as the Fibres of the *Sphincter* may not be quite destroyed, it is possible for them to contract again and recover their former Tone; whereas, when that Muscle is cut quite through, this can never be hoped for. Fistulas likewise which are so situated, as that Causticks and other proper Remedies may be applied to them, are curable; but in those caused by *Frere Jacques* Method of Cutting, this is impossible. (43)

In the next Place, the Staff which *Frere Jacques* makes Use of is altogether insufficient to guide the Point of his Knife, or hinder it from slipping, sometimes to one Side, and sometimes to the other. If his Knife passes the Staff towards the fore Side of the *Os Pubis*, it will be apt to enter the lower Part of the *Scrotum*; and by wounding the Vessels, opens a Passage for the Blood amongst the Membranes which have been cut: By this means Abscesses, Inflammations and Gangrenes in these Parts are produced. If the Point of the Knife runs in behind the *Os Pubis*, besides the Accidents mentioned in the foregoing Conclusions, he is liable to wound the Bladder through and through; and by this occasion Abscesses, &c. in all the Parts contained in the *Hypogastrium*,

Again, the Place in which *Frere Jacques* makes his Incision, exposes him very often to wound the *Intestinum Rectum*.

In fine, besides the Convulsions, Hemorrhages, and other mortal Inconveniencies which often happen upon his Cutting the Blood Vessels of the *Penis*, &c. if any of these Patients should recover, they must be impotent all their Lives after. (44)

This is the Sum of what *Monfieur Mery* has told us concerning the Inconveniencies which he thinks may be gathered from the Nature of *Frere Jacques* Operations, as well as from the Observations which Experience furnished him with. As for what relates to *Frere Jacques* himself as an Operator, it is but of very small Importance for any body now a-days, to know wherein his particular Miscarriages consisted: They may be in general reduced to these two Heads; his Ignorance of the Structure of the Parts, join'd to a Defect of Judgment, which he disco-

discovered on many Occasions; and Rashness and Want of Attention in performing his Operations. To the last of these were owing the Wounds he often made in the Bladder with his *Staff*, and the different Passages by which he forced his Way into the *Stone*, with his Knife, Fingers, *Forceps*, &c. in the same Person.

Monfieur *Mery* has likewise made a Comparison between *Frere Jacques* Method of Cutting, with what was commonly practis'd at that Time; but as all the Particulars, upon which that Comparison is founded, have been partly already taken Notice of in this History, and the rest belong to that of *Marianus*, it would be a useless Repetition to insist any further upon it.

Before we leave Monfieur *Mery's* Book, it will be proper to insert that Part of the Letter mention'd to have been written to him from *Orleans* by Monfieur *Noel*, which contains the History of the Operations *Frere Jacques* perform'd there.

Frere Jacques Way of Cutting, says Monfieur *Noel*, differs from that which is commonly in Use, only in the Place where the Incision is made; for instead of the Region of the *Perinaeum*, he begins his in the Fold of the Buttock, (*ply de la fesse*) from thence he goes obliquely, directing his Knife as much as he can towards the Neck of the Bladder; but as the different Thickness of the Parts in different Subjects varies his Operation considerably, it is no wonder that the Incision is not always in the same Place of the Bladder; especially since it does not appear that he has any certain Rule for this, but cuts sometimes higher, sometimes lower, sometimes further back, sometimes further forward: However, this new Operation never succeeds better than when, either by Chance, or by the Dexterity of the Operator, the Incision happens to be in the Neck of the Bladder.

Frere Jacques perform'd Eight Operations in this City, Five in the *Hotel Dieu*, and Three elsewhere. The First was upon a Man of Fifty Years of Age, and both Physicians and Surgeons who were present assured me that it was done with a great deal of Dexterity; the *Stone* was much of the Size and Figure of an Egg, and none that saw it doubted of the Success.

However,

However, Five or Six Days after the Patient was afflicted with a considerable Hæmorrhage, and on the Tenth with another; since that time he has felt extream Pains in the Region of the *Perinaum*, *Anus* and *Scrotum*, caused by an Abscess in these Parts, which is at length broken by means of proper Remedies applied to it. It open'd in the lower Part of the *Scrotum*, and there came out a great Quantity of purulent Matter. Ever since, the Urine runs both that Way and through the Wound, tho' in a less degree than before. I have seen him dress'd several times; and by examining both Wounds, I find them disposed to remain Fistulous. The Patient is in a very low Habit of Body, and in no Condition to undergo any further Tryals for a Cure.

The Second Operation was on a Man of Sixty. It was very long and troublesome; he lost the *Stone* several times, and at last it broke. It was of an Oval Figure, and about the Size of a Pidgeon's Egg. When it was out, there was a Part of the Inner Membrane of the Bladder found sticking to it; and another Portion of a Membrane followed it some time after, in which some Gravel was wrapt up. The Incision, contrary to his usual Custom, was begun at the Extremity of the *Scrotum*, and from thence run obliquely towards the Fold of the Buttock. The Operator had no Incision Knife, but was obliged to make use of a Razor. Ever after the Operation, the Patient was troubled with the Hickup, a Looseness, and a great Tension in the *Abdomen*. The *Penis*, *Scrotum* and *Anus* were bruised, and of a livid Colour almost like a Gangrene, which was prevented only by the Care and Skill of the Surgeon employ'd. The Wound was always foul and rotten, notwithstanding the strongest Deterfives that could be applied. It resembled the Mouth of a Lampray both in Figure and Colour, and the Patient complained of an excessive Heat in the *Scrotum* and End of the *Penis*, through which his Urine passed sometimes, but with extream Pain; and it never ceased to come out at the Wound, which remained in such a miserable State, that his Death was not surprising to any. His Body, however, was not opened.

The Third Person *Frere Jacques* Cut was Sixty Six Years of Age. He extracted two smooth Oval *Stones*, both of them of the Size of an Egg. I was inform'd that this Operation was perform'd very dextrously, and in very little Time. The Incision was made lower than in the rest, that is, at a greater Distance from the *Scrotum*. In Five or Six Weeks time the Patient was perfectly recovered. He has no Incontinency of Urine,

Urine, and it came through the Wound only for the first Eighteen or Twenty Days.

The Fourth Patient was about Eleven Years old, but his Wound is not as yet healed. What is particular in him is, that tho' some Urine still continues to flow out at the Wound, yet the greatest Quantity comes through the *Penis*, and not involuntarily neither. His Wound seems now to be in a very good Disposition, if the Urine that runs that Way does not hinder the Cure.

The Fifth was of the same Age, but he died the fourth or fifth Day after the Operation, with a Fever and Vomiting. This Operation was very troublesome and violent; and upon opening the Body, we found that the Incision had been made on one Side of the Neck of the Bladder, some Part of the *Sphincter*, and a little of the Body being Cut. The Figure of the Wound was triangular, oblique and transverse, it having been made at different Times.

The Sixth Patient was Cut upon the *Gripe*, and with a great deal of Ease. He extracted two *Stones*, both of the Bigness of a Walnut with the Husk on. The Thirty Fifth Day after the Operation the Urine began to come out the right Way; but the greatest Part of it passes still through the Wound, and in all Appearance it will remain *Fistulous*.

The Seventh Operation was made on a young Man of Twenty Two Years of Age. *Frere Jacques* could neither find the *Stone* nor *Staff* with his Knife, which made it a long while before he could extract it. The Patient died in four Days with a high Fever and Vomiting; and when he was opened, we found the whole *Sphincter* Cut transversely. (45)

To this Place likewise may belong the Reflections which *Monsieur Saviard* has made upon *Frere Jacques* in *Obs.* 109.

On the 18th of July 1698 (it is printed by Mistake 1696) I was sent for to the Abby of St. Germain des Prez, together with *Monsieur Jacquemier* Doctor of Physick, *Monsieur Tursan* Deputy (Lieutenant) to the King's

King's First Surgeon, Mess. Collot, Toler and Colignon Lithotomists, to examine the Wound of a *Benedictine* Monk, who had been Cut by an Operator nam'd *Frere Jacques Beaulieu*. We found the Patient extremely fallen away, with a slow Fever, which had continued upon him ever since the Operation. His Wound, which we were told had been corrupted, was then ruddy enough without any Hardness or Tumour about it, but as wide open as the first Day it was made. We saw the Urine run out at it, together with a glairous purulent Matter, and a gravelly Sediment.

It was our Opinion, that the Bladder was ulcerated, and that there were but little Hopes of his Recovery; we ordered what we thought proper, but he died the 21st of September following, the Wound remaining always open.

This *Frere Jacques* was and is still looked upon by some People as a very wonderful Operator, notwithstanding all the Discoveries that have been made of his Miscarriages; and that for four or five Reasons, 1. Because he Operates differently from the other Lithotomists. 2. Because he shows a great deal of Courage in Cutting, and Assurance in bragging of his Feats. 3. Because he appears to be disinterested. 4. Because he wears a Religious Habit, and has a great Air of Devotion. 5. Because he pretends to have received all that he knows in Surgery by Inspiration; and as it cost him nothing, so he is willing to teach other People gratis.

These are the Foundations of his pretended Merit, and it is a very easy Matter to examine the Solidity of them.

For in the first Place, what Inference can be drawn touching his Abilities from this, that he Cuts differently from other Lithotomists? He is not a bit the better Operator for that, except his Method were preferable to the rest, which it certainly is in no respect, except in killing a greater Number of Patients, as appeared by the Tryals made of it at the Hospitals.

Again,

Again, is he a better Operator, because he is bold and forward? No certainly: for though Assurance be very commendable in an Operator; yet still it is to be looked upon only as a subordinate Talent, and presupposes Knowledge and Skill, for otherwise it is pernicious; and that *Frere Jaques* was of this kind, is plain from the Number of Persons who died under his Hands.

His Readiness to boast of the Cures he had performed, has always been looked upon as a Thing very unbecoming in any Body, but much more when founded upon Lyes and Falshoods. This is *Frere Jacques* Case; for as soon as he arrived in *Paris*, he gave out, that by his New Method he cut without Pain; that his Patients would recover in much less Time than is usual, and that without any Danger of a Fistula, or other Accidents: All this has been found to be false. His Method of Cutting is much oftner attended with Fistulas and Hemorrhagy than the others: He causes great Pains in Operating, and his Patients are a great while in recovering; his Boastings therefore ought rather to make him be despised and undervalued, than be looked upon as any Thing extraordinary.

Can his Disinterestedness be reckoned a Proof of his Ability? This is, no doubt, a very commendable Quality in him, but he does not possess it in a greater Degree than the other Lithotomists, as far as the Poor are concerned; for all who Cut in the Hospitals do it *gratis*, and even to such as are not there, there are very few who would refuse their Assistance upon the same Terms, when it is needful: But I must own, if *Frere Jacques* pretends to extend his Charity to the Rich, he outdoes the rest; but at the same time he exceeds the Bounds of his Duty, by a Zeal which, according to the Gospel Phrase, is not according to Knowledge.

His Religious Habit and Air of Sanctity are but equivocal Signs. We are all used to see such Dresses every Day, and therefore ought not to wonder at any Body who wears them: But with relation to *Frere Jacques*, the Wonder is this; how if he is really and truly a Monk his Superiours should ever have sent him on such an unaccountable Errand, as to go all over the Kingdom, and Cut People of both Sexes for the Stone; which he cannot do without viewing Objects which must put that Chastity, of which he has made a Vow, to a very severe Tryal;
or,

or, if he be not a Monk, but only wears the Habit, how the Church should suffer such a Disguise, which must infallibly scandalize great Numbers of People.

But the greatest Wonder of all is, that *Frere Jacques* should be esteem'd an excellent Lithotomist, meerly upon Account of his Dress, as if that were sufficient to give him more sure and unerring Knowledge in Physick and Surgery, than the most famous Universities, the reading good Books, the Lessons of the best Masters, and a long Practice, can give to others.

I doubt not but *Frere Jacques* Devotion has gained him the Confidence of many People; for this is a ready Way to lead People wherever we have a Mind: But I doubt very much, if true Devotion can be consistent with the visible Prevarication which the Exercise of Surgery must engage him in, if he be truly a Monk, or with the Disguise he puts on, if he is not.

We have only now to examine, if he has obtained all that he knows in Surgery in a supernatural Way, as he gives it out himself. Now the surest Means to judge of the Nature of a Cause, is by the Effects it produces: If therefore *Frere Jacques* is directed, and immediately inspired by God in all he undertakes, he ought always to succeed; and in that Case he would certainly be the most excellent Lithotomist in the World. All that the others know, they are very ready to own comes to them, either from the Instruction of their Master, or their own Labour. But as every body must now be convinced from what happen'd at both Hospitals, that *Frere Jacques* is less successful than they, it is impossible to believe he is divinely inspired, except it be by the evil Principle of the *Manicheans*.

Having thus enquired into the Reasons of so many Peoples being prejudiced in Favour of *Frere Jacques*, I leave every Body to judge if these Prejudices be well founded, or ought not rather to be looked upon as Proofs of the Ignorance and Unskilfulness of this Religious Lithotomist.

As

As for the Proposals he makes in the *Publick Gazette*, to teach all Surgeons his Method *gratis*, it is the Magistrates Business to hinder these Offers from being accepted; because as his Method is pernicious, it ought rather to be abolished than perpetuated, whatever he may pretend, that he has corrected his first Method, that he has made good Use of the Advices given him in the Hospitals of *Paris*, and that he now uses the same Instruments with the other Lithotomists; for all who are Judges must know, that in order to make him a good Operator, 1. He ought to retain nothing which makes his Method differ from the Common, which is certainly much better. 2. He ought to lay aside a great deal of his Forwardness in operating, because to that is owing the Temerity with which he thrusts in his Instruments to Places which he knows nothing of, from whence irreparable Disorders ensue. 3. He ought to lay aside the Opinion he has of himself, of being the best Lithotomist in the Kingdom; than which nothing can be more false, both because his Method is bad, and because he knows nothing of the Parts concerned, or to be shun'd in the Operation; neither has he any Tincture of Surgery, to enable him to remedy the Accidents which may befall his Patients. While he retains this Presumption of his own Skill, it will be in vain to think of his making any Progress in the Art he professes. 4. He ought to Cut for five or six Years in the Hospitals under able Masters, who might direct him in his Operations, tell him of his Faults, and explain the Consequences of them: For it is in this Manner that all the great Lithotomists in *France* have been formed; whereas *Frere Jacques*, while he continues to be fond of his own bad Method, intrepid in his Ignorance, obstinate in his Operations, and presumptuous to Excess, will never rise above the Level of a Quack and a Vagabond.

Dionis has made a great many Remarks on *Frere Jacques* Methods of Cutting Males, but none of them are new; and therefore it will be sufficient to set down here the Conclusion he draws from the whole History of them. Tho' I do not approve of *Frere Jacques* Way of Cutting, says he, yet I do not absolutely condemn it, for there is something good in his Method; and I am perswaded, that a Surgeon, who is a good Anatomist, knows how to guide his Instrument, and is so far Master of it as to carry it where he pleases, may succeed in the Practice of *Frere Jacques* Operation, by reason that he would avoid all those pernicious Accidents which attended his Performance; but it would be to expose the Patient to too great Dangers to cause him to be Cut by that Monk, who being wholly ignorant of the Parts to be Cut, his

bold Assurance in thrusting in his Poynard proceeds only from the Want of a sufficient Stock of Knowledge to foresee the Consequences. (46)

This Judgment of *Dionis* is very different from that given by *Mery*. *Mery* pretends to prove from the Nature of the Method itself, that it ought to be quite laid aside, as well as from the Character of the Monk, that he in particular ought never to use it. *Dionis* on the contrary is of Opinion, that the Inconveniencies that were found to attend it, were owing more to the Operator, than to the Nature of the Operation; tho' at the same time it must be own'd, that, take all his Words together, they amount to no more than this; *Frere Jacques* Operation may be practis'd with Success by those who are able to avoid whatever the Want of Success in it is owing to.

Mr. *Chefelden*, by supposing that *Frere Jacques* Operation was the same with *Rau's*, and that *Rau* practis'd his with great Success, declares sufficiently what was his Opinion of it, notwithstanding all the Inconveniencies which he had just before mentioned from *Dionis*. These therefore he must have look'd upon to be all owing to the Operator; and thus his Judgment will coincide with that of *Dionis*, with this Difference only, that his he reckons to be confirmed by Matter of Fact, which the other does not pretend to. (47)

Albinus conformably to the Description we have heard from him of *Frere Jacques* Method, has given us his Opinion of it in these Words: This Way of Cutting, says he, could not well be more dangerous than either the making an Incision into the Neck of the Bladder, or into the *Urethra*: And as by this Means both these remained untouched and altogether free from the bad Consequences which usually attended the thrusting in of Instruments, the violent Dilatations, and the extracting of large rugged Stones in a most cruel Manner through such narrow Passages, this Method seem'd highly preferable to all the rest. But on the other hand, as this Part of the Bladder lies altogether hid, it was a very difficult Matter to get at it; yet when this Operation was rightly performed, no Part lay in the Way, of Consequence enough to hinder the Success of it.

The

The Danger and Difficulty of it consisted both in the Thickness of the Parts to be cut through, and the Nearness of some noble *Viscera*, which were by all Means to be avoided; for if either the Surgeon should happen to thrust his Knife too far in, or too much to one Side, he runs the Risque of Cutting the opposite Part of the Bladder, of hurting the *Intestinum Rectum* and *Vesicula Seminales*, of wounding or Cutting quite through the *Ureter*, *Erector Penis*, *Corpus Cavernosum Majus*, the *Urethra* it self, and of other such melancholly Accidents.

Likewise after the Wound is made, it is an easy Matter to mistake in introducing the *Forceps*, by thrusting it not into the Bladder, but amongst some other Parts which it ought to have passed by, and thus open and dilate them, and pull out whatever came in its Way; which would not only frustrate the Design of the Operation, but bring on many other Inconveniencies. Such Accidents we have both heard and read to have happened to *Frere Jacques*, who neither knew the Structure of the Parts, nor had any certain Method of guiding his Knife or *Forceps*; which last Mr. *Rau* looked upon to be the only Defect of his Operation.

Wherefore we are so far from commending *Frere Jacques* Method of Cutting, that we are not afraid to assert the Practice of it to be highly pernicious and destructive to Mankind; and had it not served as a Hint to lead *Rau* to the Discovery of the best of all Methods, it had better never have been heard of. (48)

CHAP.

The Danger and Difficulty of it consisteth both in the Thickness of the Parts to be cut through, and the Nearness of some noble Nerves.



CHAP. IV Frere Jaques Method of Cutting Females.

WE have already mentioned, in several Places, that *Frere Jacques* Cut Women as well as Men; but we have delay'd till now, to give an Account wherein these two Operations differ'd, and the Judgment that has been made of this Part of his Method.

Mr. Buffiere's Friend tells us upon this Head, that *Frere Jacques* cutteth Women upon the *Staff*, and in the same Place as Men. He did perform this Operation, continues he, in my Presence upon Three; One whereof was a Girl of Eleven Years old; which maketh me believe that he useth the same Way in all, tho' in them he did Cut the Internal Neck of the *Uterus*. His Opinion therefore is, that this Way of Cutting is not so sure in Women, no more than in Men, as the Ancient Way.

Mr. Buffiere subscribes to his Correspondent's Judgment: Tho' I have not tried this Way upon Women, says he, yet I cannot approve it at all, since one cannot avoid Cutting the Neck of the *Uterus*, the *Cicatrix* of which might prove to be of some ill Consequence, in case the Woman should come to be with Child. (49)

One of the three Experiments which *Monsieur Mery* saw *Frere Jacques* make upon dead Bodies, was upon that of a Woman, and he has given us a particular Account of his Method of Operating. The Incision, he says, was made on the Right Side, near the Protuberance of the *Ischium*, the same *Staff* he used for Men being first introduced into the

the Bladder. It was about an Inch and an half long; and by measuring the Situation of it by the means of cross Lines, he found that the lower Part of it answered to the *Anus*, the upper to the external Orifice of the *Uterus*, and the middle of it to the *Raphè*. The inward Progress of it was in this manner; After having passed about an Inch and an half of Fat, it went in betwixt the *Levator Ani* and the *Accelerator* of the *Clitoris*, cutting this Muscle at its Origin, and from thence pierced the *Vagina* quite through, beginning at the Backside of it, and thus reached the Body of the Bladder, which it wounded lengthways from the Beginning of the *Urethra* to the Insertion of the *Ureters*, but without touching either of them. The Incision in the *Vagina* and in the Bladder were each of them an Inch long.

Tho' *Mery* was at this Time as much prejudiced in favour of *Frere Jacques*, as he was afterwards against him, yet his Method of Cutting Women disgusted him from the very first Moment he saw this Experiment. This appears from the Reflections which he subjoins to his Description of it. If we judge, says he, of *Frere Jacques* Way of Operating upon Women, by the Structure of the Parts, and by the Incision which he makes in the *Vagina* and Body of the Bladder, I cannot believe that the *Stone* can be extracted in them with the same Ease and Advantages as in Men, if he always follows the same Methods in both, as I have hitherto seen him; I mean, if he begins his Incision on the Inside of the *Ischium*. For if we consider that the *Urethra* in Women is but six Lines in length beyond the *Os Pubis*, that the Cavity is but a Line and an half in Diameter, and that it lies along the middle of the fore Part of the *Vagina*, which is two Inches broad, it will be easy to conceive that whatever Care *Frere Jacques* takes to put the *Vagina* out of his Way, and not to wound it, it will be very difficult for him to shun it, and almost impossible to get into the Bladder by the *Urethra* in the Way he takes, since it is so very short and lies so close to the *Vagina*. Since therefore the *Stone* cannot be extracted by this Method, without Cutting the Body of the Bladder, I cannot believe it less dangerous than the common Way of drawing the *Stone* through the *Urethra*. As an Inconvenience of Urine most commonly happens in this Way, so in that used by *Frere Jacques* a Fistula of the Bladder into the *Vagina* appears to me inevitable; which is at least as great an Inconvenience, since the Urine flows equally involuntarily here. (50)

The living Bodies which *Frere Jacques* afterwards Cut, were but too evident Proofs of the Truth of the Reflections Monsieur *Mery* here makes. The first of these was *Madam de Lorrain*; he began the Incision two Inches higher than he did upon the dead Body, and pierced the *Vagina* quite through, as appeared by the Quantity of Blood which run out of it. What other Accidents followed upon this Operation, Monsieur *Mery* has not told us; but we may judge what they were by the Observations which he made on other Subjects. (51)

On the 16th of *May* following, says he, *Frere Jacques* cut two Girls at the *Hotel Dieu*, one upon the *Staff*, and the other upon the *Gripe*. The youngest was but Four Years of Age, and went out of the Hospital the 17th of *June*, the outward Wound being cured; but she continued to be troubled with an Incontinency of *Urine*. The other was Fourteen Years old, and went out the 25th of the same Month, in the same State with the other. Just as she was to leave the Hospital, I was sent for to examine the Cause of her Incontinency of *Urine*, and I found that it came partly through the *Urethra*, and partly through the *Vagina*. Another Surgeon that was there injected Barley Water through the *Urethra* into the Bladder, which presently flowed out at the *Vagina*, by which we discovered, that tho' the exterior Wound all the Way to the *Vagina* was healed, the other Incision from the *Vagina* to the Bladder was still open. (52)

Now besides the Incontinency of *Urine* which attends this Accident, there are other Consequences no less terrible that must follow upon it, especially if we take in the Danger there is in this Method, of falling into many of the same Inconveniencies which have been already observed in Men. Women must by this means be rendered for ever barren, since the continual Flux of *Urine* into the Bladder must necessarily hinder the Action of the *Semen*; and as the *Rectum* may likewise be pierced, the gross Excrements may come out the same Way at the same time. From these and such like Observations, drawn partly from Experiments, and partly from the Analogy of the Structure of the Parts to be Cut in both Sexes, Monsieur *Mery* concludes, that *Frere Jacques* Way of Cutting Women ought upon no account whatever to be put in Practice. (53)

Of the Eight Patients which *Frere Jacques* cut at *Orleans*, One was a Girl between Ten and Twelve Years of Age, but she died the Fourth Day after the Operation; and *Monsieur Noel*, in the foremention'd Letter to *Mery*, has given us the following Relation of it: *Frere Jacques* set her upon the Knees of a Surgeon's Servant, and made two others hold her Thighs: He began by making a violent Pressure upon the *Hypogastrium*, with his Fingers half bent, as if he had a mind to bring the Bottom of the Bladder nearer its Neck: Then he introduced a Silver Catheter into the Bladder, and pulled it out again as soon as he had drawn off the Urine contained in it. Afterwards he put his two Fingers into the *Rectum* to command the Stone, and so made his Incision in the ordinary Place, only a little higher; and directing his Knife towards the Stone, he cut the Bladder. This being done, he made several Motions in the Wound, sometimes with his Forceps, sometimes with his Scoop, pressing a-new upon the *Hypogastrium* to bring down the Stone, but all to no purpose; so that at length he was obliged to thrust his Fingers a second time into the *Anus*, and to use his Knife once more, in order either to make a new Incision, or enlarge the former. Thus, by keeping the Stone well down with his Fingers, after two or three Efforts, he at length extracted it with his Forceps.

The Operation was no sooner over, but the Patient began to be tormented with Pains in her Belly, Fever and Vomiting, which never left her till she died: Upon opening her Body, we plainly discerned that the Incision had been made in the Middle and membranous Part of the Bladder; that it was transverse and a little oblique, with three Angles observable in it, occasion'd by his having Cut several Times. The Bladder and all the Parts near it were filled with Pus, and in many of them there were Abscesses formed. The lower Parts of the *Abdomen*, such as the *Pyramidal Muscles* and the Extremities of the *Recti*, were very much bruised, livid, and tending to a Gangrene, tho' there was no Blackness nor Swelling to be seen upon the Skin. (54)

We are told by *Dionis*, that one of the four Patients which *Frere Jacques* cut in the *Charité* of *Versailles*, was a Girl of Seven Years of Age, who died three Days after the Operation. *Dionis* opened her in Presence of *Monsieur Felix*, one of *Frere Jacques* Patrons, and found the Bladder wounded in the Body near the Neck. In the *Vagina* there was a Wound of the Length of a Nail, made by the Edge of the Knife, in thrusting it along that Part to come at the Bladder: On this Occasion.

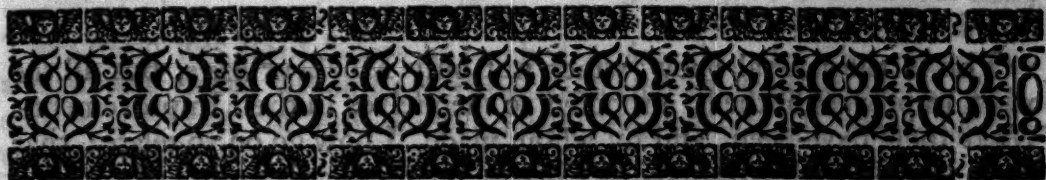
Occasion Frere Jacques said, that the Wounds of the *Vagina* are of no Consequence, and that he frequently happened to pierce it. (55)

Dionis saw him cut Two Women more, and in both the same Accidents happened, as appeared by the Blood which came out at the *Vagina* as soon as the Incision was made. And he observes further, that the same thing fell out in almost all the Women he cut. (56)

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tracing the Stone, from all the Disadvantages which Frere Jacques
Method taken all together, leads to him to labour under



were posterior to those of Frere Jacques, but to the Discovery of which
the Authors of them have been led by hints taken from what they ob-

CHAP. V.

Monfieur Mery's Method of Cutting for the Stone.

THE Account which we have given from Authors, of *Frere Jacques* Operations for the *Stone*, is very far from being to their Advantage. The most favourable thing that has been said of them, by any Body who was in a Condition to judge of their true Merit, is, that it is possible they may succeed when perform'd by a skilful Hand; and that some few Cases may happen, in which they may perhaps be preferable to the ancient Methods. But *Monfieur Mery*, who has been at more Pains to examine them, than all the other Authors put together, declares himself altogether against the Practice of them in any Case; not only on account of the bad Success they were attended with in the Hands of that ignorant inconsiderate Monk, but also by comparing the Structure of the Parts concerned with the Nature of the Operation itself, and from thence deducing the many grievous Accidents with which the Practice of them will most commonly, if not always, be attended.

All this, however, is to be understood of these Operations taken by the Lump; for when they are pulled to Pieces, *Monfieur Mery*, even in the midst of all his Declamations against them, cannot help seeing some Parts of them, which he thinks preferable to what answered to these in the former Methods of Operating. It was natural for a thinking Man to endeavour to bring such valuable Parts into Practice, by joining to them, either from his own Invention, or what was already in Use, whatever he judged proper to compleat this whole Operation of ex-

tracting the *Stone*, freed from all the Disadvantages which *Frere Jacques* Methods, taken all together, seem'd to him to labour under.

This is the general View, which not only *Monfieur Mery*, but all the other Improvers of them, propos'd to themselves in their Improvements. What these have been, and by whom made, I now go on to relate; that is, to explain such Methods of Cutting for the *Stone*, as differ from and were posteriour to those of *Frere Jacques*, but to the Discovery of which the Authors of them have been led by Hints taken from what they observed in his.

Of these Improvements, the first that I hear of were made by *Monfieur Mery*; but before I proceed to them, it will be necessary to say something concerning this great Man's Life, by abridging the Eloge which the Elegant *Monfieur Fontenelle* has given us of him in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences* for the Year 1722. Printed in 1724.

John Mery was born at *Katan*, in the Province of *Berry*, the 6th Day of *January* 1645. His Father was a Surgeon; and after having sent his Son for some Time to School, finding that, whether for Want of Inclination, or by the Fault of his Masters, his Genius was not turned to Letters, he resolv'd to bring him up to his own Business.

At Eighteen Years of Age he went to *Paris*, to improve himself in the *Hotel Dieu*, the best School in the World for young Surgeons. There, not satisfied with the Exercises of the Day, he us'd as often as he had an Opportunity, to convey a Body out of the Hospital to his Lodging, and hide it in his Bed till he had Time to dissect it.

In 1681, he drew up a Description of the Ear, at the Desire of *Monfieur L'Amy*, Doctor of Physick, to be insert'd in the Second Edition of his Book *De L'Ame Sensitive*. It was in that Year likewise, that he was made Surgeon to the Queen.

In 1683, *Monfieur Louvois*, then First Minister of State, appointed him Surgeon Major to the Hospital of the Invalides.

The Year after, the King of Portugal having desired that a *Parisian* Surgeon might be sent him, his Queen being indisposed, Monsieur *Mery* was pitched upon as the properest Person to execute that Commission. The Queen was dead before he reached *Lisbon*; but by the other extraordinary Cures which he performed during his Stay there, he gained the Esteem of the *Portuguese* so much, that they made him most advantageous Offers, in case he would resolve to settle among them. He had like Proposals made to him in *Spain*, through which he passed; but he chose to accept neither of them, but to return to his own Country, which he did timely enough in that same Year, to be admitted a Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, by the Recommendation of Monsieur de *Louvois*, and to be appointed Surgeon to the Duke of *Burgundy*, then a Child, whom he accompany'd in a Journey the Court made to *Chambort*, a Royal Palace near *Blois*.

In 1692, he was sent by the Court on a secret Commission to *England*; and indeed it always remained so: for to this Day no Body can tell what he went about.

In 1700, he arrived at the Height of his Ambition, being named by Monsieur *Harlay*, First President of *Paris*, to be First Surgeon of the *Hôtel Dieu*. The Functions of that Post, together with his Place in the Academy, took up his whole Time; no Considerations but Friendship could ever persuade him after that, to practice in the City, or teach Anatomy to any but his Pupils in the Hospital; and it was by his Means that the Anatomical Theatre was erected there.

His great Talent lay in the Exactness of his Observations. He thought it sufficient for his Purpose, to see Things precisely as they existed in Nature, without being often at Pains to build Systems upon the *Phænomena* he had discover'd. When he ventur'd so far as that, he was convinc'd it was upon very sure Grounds, and therefore was very stiff in maintaining his own Opinions. His Hypothesis concerning the Circulation of the Blood in a *Fœtus*, was an Instance of this; and his Defence thereof against the numerous Attacks that were made upon it, together with his Observations on the Methods of Cutting practised by *Frère Jacques*, a *Francomtois*, make up the only Book he ever publish'd. There are a great many Papers of his amongst the Memoirs of the Academy;

Academy; and he left behind him a vast Number of valuable Preparations of the Parts both of Men and other Animals.

He applied himself much to the Knowledge of the Blood Vessels and Nerves; but used to give it to his Friends, as an Instance of the Imperfection of Human Knowledge, that the Nature and Actions of the Fluids contained in them had not been discover'd. Anatomists, he told them, might be compared to Porters, who know all the Streets and Corners of a Town, but are intirely ignorant of what passes within Doors.

They, who conversed much with him, attribute to him several Discoveries which pass under other Peoples Names; of which the Glands ascribed to Mr. Cowper, are one Instance.

He died on the Third Day of November 1722, in the 78th Year of his Age, leaving Six Children behind him.

It appears from the Reflections Monsieur Mery has given us on *Frere Jacques* Operations, that he had seen but very few of them, before he began to think of carrying them to a greater Perfection. It would be to no purpose, however, to trace all the Observations which lie scatter'd up and down his Book to this purpose; he having sav'd us that Trouble himself, by bringing them all under one View, in the last Chapter of that Treatise, in which we may see distinctly first, by what Steps he was led to the Improvements he has made, wherein they consist, and lastly, what are the Advantages that he thinks may be expected from them.

As to the first of these, he acquaints us, That since the principal Disorders which appeared in the dead Bodies of such Persons as had been Cut upon the Staff by *Frere Jacques*, and which he had Opened, proceeded only from this, That his Staff being solid and round, it was impossible for him, with all the Steadiness of Hand he was Master of, to guide the Point of his Knife upon the Convex Part of it so surely, as not to miss it upon most Occasions; One would be apt to think, that in order to rectify his Operation, and evite all the dismal

Acci-

Accidents that attended it, nothing should be requisite but to make use of a furrow'd Catheter; and to adjust the Length of it so exactly, as not to run the Risque of piercing the Bottom of the Bladder, as he frequently did.

But if we consider further, (says our Author) that the only Cases in which *Frere Jacques* extracts the Stone with more Facility than the other Lithotomists, are when he Cuts both the Neck and Body of the Bladder, which is the most astonishing Part of his Operations, and was the chief Thing that procured him the Liberty of Cutting in the two Hospitals; and if we consider, on the other hand, that the wounding of these Parts is the evident Cause of the Incontinency of Urine and Fistulas, with which the most Part of those who survived his Operations were afflicted: When these two Things are attended to, I say, we will see that the Improvements I have mentioned are not sufficient, but that it is moreover absolutely necessary to abstain from cutting the Neck and Body of the Bladder.

Again, if we reflect, that the Reason why *Frere Jacques* ever wounds the Rectum, is only because he begins his Incision too low down, and that the Opening of the Nerves and Blood Vessels, from whence proceeded the Hemorrhages, Abscesses, and Convulsions, which carried off so many of his Patients, happen'd by thrusting his Knife too far forward; we must conclude, that it would be a much surer Way to begin the Incision in the Urethra, and end it at the Beginning of the Neck of the Bladder (*à l'entrée du col de la Vessie*) which is very often dilated by the Stone, which the Contraction of the Fibres of the Body of the Bladder has forced into the Cavity of it.

And therefore it is that I am inclined to think, that the greatest Difficulty which the most expert Lithotomists find in extracting a Stone, proceeds more seldom from the Neck of the Bladder than from the Urethra; because as they Cut the Urethra on the Fore-side of the (*au devant*) of the *Ossa Pubis*, and the Neck of the Bladder lying behind these Bones, there remains at least an Inch of the Urethra under that Angle formed by their Union, which is not cut, and through which the Stone must pass; that is, by a Way which is narrower than the Neck of the Bladder; it is this therefore which must cause the Difficulty.

Upon these Principles our Author's Improvements are founded : Wherein they consist, he goes on to explain in the following Manner.

In order to rectify the ancient Operation, and that of *Frere Jacques* likewise, and evite the Accidents which either accompany or follow them; I believe it would be proper, the Patient first being placed and tied in the ordinary Manner, to begin by thrusting a furrowed *Catheter* into the Bladder with the Right Hand, then to hold it with the Left, and turn that End of it towards the Right Groin, that the Concave Part being directed to the Inside of the Left *Os Pubis*, the Groove may lie a little obliquely. Afterwards taking in the Right Hand a crooked *Bistoury* well fixed in the Handle, between Three and Four Inches long, Three Lines broad or thereabout, the Edge on the Convex Side, and ending in a very sharp pointed *Stilet*, about an Inch in length, thrust it directly into that Part of the Groove which lies in the Angle made by the Junction of the *Ossa Pubis*; conduct the *Stilet* all the Way into the Neck of the Bladder (*conduire le Stilet du Bistoury dans le Col de la vessie*) the Point of it being kept firm in the Groove of the *Catheter*; then lowering the Hand, make the Incision down from the Neck of the Bladder, along the Inside of the *Os Pubis*, all the Way to the Protuberance of the *Ischium*. The Incision being made, introduce the *Conductors* or *Gorgere* and *Forrets* in the ordinary Manner.

The *Leipsick Journalists* have rendered this Passage of *Monfieur Mery*, *Conduire le Stilet du Bistoury dans le col de la vessie, Pars Aculeata Scalpelli usq; in Vesica Collum adigenda*; by which it is plain, they conceived that the Neck of the Bladder was to be pierced by the *Stilet*, it being in that Sense only that there could be any Force required, which is implied in the Word *adigere*: But this is very far from being the Author's Meaning, the principal Part of his Improvement consists in leaving the Neck of the Bladder untouched; and by conducting the *Stilet* into the Neck of the Bladder, he understands no more than that as soon as the *Stilet* was in the Groove of the Staff, the Operator should run it along that, all the Way into the Canal or Cavity of the Neck of the Bladder, which in *collum vesicae adigere* can never be imagined to express.

The Patient must be made to lie upon the Right Side; because by this Means the Urine not having so easy a Descent towards the Wound, will more readily be directed into its former Channel, which

will very much facilitate the Re-union of the divided Parts ; and the common Practice of Binding the Patients Thighs, near the Knees, must not be omitted.

In this manner, according to Monsieur Mery, may the Operation for the Stone be improved ; and the Benefit which will result therefrom, he thinks, will be very considerable ; for first, the Stone may be extracted with as much Facility as in Frere Jacques Method, without any Danger of the Accidents which attend it. Likewise the greatest Part of those Inconveniencies which accompany the common Operation will be evited, because the Urethra will be cut all the Way to the Neck of the Bladder, without touching the Muscles of the Penis, or wounding any Part of the Scrotum, which is most commonly attended with Fluxions, Inflammations and Gangreen. Lastly, by following this Method, we shall never be under any Necessity of Cutting upon the Gripe, either Men or Children, except when the Stone is got into the Urethra, and sticks out in the Perinaeum ; and in that Case the common Way of performing this Operation suffers no Difficulty. (i)

This is the Account that Monsieur Mery has given us of his own Method of Cutting Males, in order to extract the Stone ; whether ever he put it in Practice or not is uncertain, but if we will be at pains to compare it with Marianus's Operation and that of Frere Jacques both together, it will be found that what is new in it is only the Place in which he makes his Incision, and the Figure of his Knife. And if we compare it with each of these Methods by themselves, it will deserve rather to be called an Improvement of that of Marianus, than of Frere Jacques ; for, properly speaking, it was the Place in which he observed this last to make his Incision, that led him to alter the Place where Marianus's Followers make theirs, and pitch upon a new one equally different from both. The other Parts of Monsieur Mery's Operation he has no manner of Title to ; but still, since the Merit of an Invention is only to be determined by its Usefulness, did this small Improvement rid his Operation of the Inconveniencies which the others are liable to, he might justly claim the same Share of Acknowledgment from Mankind, as if he had invented a Method entirely new.

Monsieur Mery had no sooner seen Frere Jacques make an Experiment of his Method upon the dead Body of a Woman, but he thought of rectify-

rectifying that Part of his Operation likewise: For having made the Reflections which have been already mentioned, concerning the Inconveniencies of it, he adds, That if it should appear from Experience, that his Conjectures about these Inconveniencies were ill grounded, and that both the Wounds of the *Vagina* and Body of the Bladder are easily cured, he hath a Way to propose for Cutting of Women, which must still be preferable to that of the Monk. His Method is this: Let a furrowed *Catheter*, such as is commonly used for Men, be introduced into the Bladder, and with the Convex Part of it press down to the Entry of the external Orifice of the *Uterus* (*a l'entrée de l'Orifice externe de la Matrice*) that Part of the *Vagina* which lies under the Extremity of the Body of the Bladder, and the Beginning of the *Urethra* which is joined to it; then cut that Part of the *Vagina* upon the Groove of the *Staff*; and thus it will be easy to get into the Bladder without hurting the *Urethra*, if the Incision is made but a very little Way up in the *Vagina*.

By this Method the *Stone* may be extracted out of the Bladder of a Woman with the same Advantages that *Frere Jacques* does it in Men; because, as it must pass through the *Vagina*, it will pass out at the broadest Part of the Angle which is formed by the Union of the *Ossa Pubis*.

It may likewise be made use of in young Girls, and is undoubtedly more sure and less painful than that used by *Frere Jacques*. The Wound made in the *Vagina* needs not be above Two Lines deep; whereas in his Method there must be several Incisions, which taken all together, are at least Three Inches deep; for he not only pierces the *Vagina* twice, but the Wound he makes from the Buttocks into it is altogether unnecessary.

This Method seems, moreover, to be better than that of Drawing the *Stone* through the *Urethra*, because as both that and the *Sphincter* of the Bladder remain untouched, there is no Danger of an Incontinency of Urine, which most commonly follows the other. (2)

The Suppositions upon which Monsieur *Mery* builds the Advantages of this new Method of Cutting Women, are, we see, that Wounds in the
Vagina

Vagina and in the Body of the Bladder may be cured ; but tho' upon the Tryals he afterwards made on dead Bodies, he was fully satisfied how easily it might be put in Practice, yet the Observations he had occasion to make of such as had been Cut by *Frere Jacques*, convinced him at length that these Suppositions were false ; and consequently, that this Method, however improved, was altogether to be rejected. This he testifies in the following Words : As for *Frere Jacques* Way of Cutting Women and young Girls, since there remains always a *Fistula* from the Bladder into the *Vagina*, it is evident that neither that, nor the Method in which I proposed it to be amended, ought ever to be put in Practice : There is no other Way left but to draw the Stone through the *Urethra* ; and tho' an Incontinency of Urine should remain, it does not make them incapable of Conceiving, which is very much to be feared from that which proceeds from a *Fistula*. (3)

Before I take leave of *Monsieur Mery*, I cannot forbear remarking that something very like the Way he here propos'd for Cutting of Women is mentioned by *Monsieur Buffiere* ; but as that Author had put it in Practice before *Frere Jacques* Operations were known to him, it cannot be called an Improvement of these ; and therefore I did not take Notice of it in that Place, which, as being published before that of *Monsieur Mery*, it would otherwise have deserved.

In Women, says *Mr. Buffiere*, when the Stone is but indifferent big, the old Way is preferable to any other ; but if it was very big, then I had rather thrust my Finger into the *Vagina*, and bring the Stone as near the Neck of the Bladder as can be, and cut the Membranes of the *Vagina* and Bladder upon the Stone. I did Cut a Woman in *Hambourgh* by that Way, of which I drew a Stone weighing five Ounces and an half, who did recover very well. By this Way we did prevent the Incontinency of Urine, which follows always the Extraction of great Stones in Women. (4)

REFERENCES.

- (1) *Mery*, a p. 95. ad 70. (3) *ib.* p. 70.
(2) *ib.* p. 30. (4) *Phil. Trans.* 1699. p. 106.



C H A P. VI.

Professor Rau's Method.

THE next Improvement of *Frere Jacques* Operation for the Stone, was made by Mr. Rau in *Holland*. But before I lay before the Reader wherein it consisted, I think it necessary to make him a little acquainted with that great Man's Life, by a short Abridgment of the elegant and faithful Account which the learned Professor *Albinus* has lately published of it.

John James Rau was born at *Baden*, a small Town in the Circle of *Suabia* in the Year 1668. His Father was a Wine Merchant, and in such indifferent Circumstances, that he was obliged, as the best Provision he could make for his Son, to bind him Apprentice to a Surgeon in *Strasburg*, before he was full Fourteen Years of Age. There he remained Three Years; and in that Time thinking he knew enough of his Business to gain his Living in any Part of the World, he resolved to bid adieu to his own Country, and try his Fortune somewhere else. After he had travelled through some Part of Germany, he went to *Hamburg*, from thence to *Norway*, where he lived at *Bergen* with Mr. *Franen* the Surgeon, and soon after to *Amsterdam*, being unable to endure the rigorous Cold of that Climate. At *Amsterdam* he had the good Luck to get to be Surgeon of a Man of War, in which he went to *Spain* and other Countries; and upon his return to *Holland*, he went on board the Vice-Admiral of that Fleet, which brought King *William* to *England*.

During

During his Service at Sea, he found Means to save as much Money as enabled him to go to *Leyden*, and there study *Phyſick* for some Time; after which he went to *Paris* to improve himself in *Anatomy* and *Surgery* under *Du Verney*, *Mery*, *Mareſchal*, *Roumart*, *Old Petit*, and others. In 1694, he returned to *Leyden*, and there took his Degree of Doctor of *Phyſick*, being then but Twenty-six Years of Age.

Being by this Time weary of a wandering Courſe of Life, he reſolv'd to ſettle at *Amſterdam*, and to teach *Anatomy*, and practice *Phyſick* and *Surgery*: He remained there ſomething more than Eighteen Years; but Two of them were not paſt before he had already acquired ſo great a Reputation in *Anatomy*, that the Magiſtrates of that City appointed him to diſſect in the publick Theatre. He was likewiſe ſo ſucceſſful in the Practice of *Surgery*, that he was ſent for all over *Holland* by thoſe who needed his Aſſiſtance, and for the Sake of no Operation ſo much as that of Cutting for the *Stone*, which he performed upon above Sixteen Hundred People, with the greateſt Applauſe, and equal Succeſs.

In 1705, he was ſent for to *Leyden*, to give ſome Publick Leſſons of *Anatomy*; and in 1713, he was made Profeſſor of *Phyſick*, *Anatomy*, and *Surgery*, in that famous Univerſity, upon the Death of Doctor *Bidloo*. While he remained in Health, he was extremely diligent in diſcharging the Functions of that honourable Profeſſion; but his Health abandoned him above Four Years before his Death, which happened in a very lamentable Manner on the 18th Day of September 1719, in the Fifty firſt Year of his Age.

Befides the Anatomical Treafure which he bequeathed to this Univerſity, and of which we are obliged for a very ample and methodical Account to the Author of his Life, he left the World his Oration *De Methodo Anatomien Docendi & Discendi*, pronounced on the Day of his Reception as Profeſſor at *Leyden*; a Latin Letter *De Inventoribus Septi Scroti*, and a Defence of it againſt Dr. *Ruyſch*; together with ſeveral Improvements both in *Anatomy* and *Surgery*, the Chief of which may be juſtly reckon'd the Discoveries he has made of the true Method of Cutting for the *Stone*.

As

As for D. Raa's Character, I cannot give it better than in the Words of his elegant Historian; *Fuit Corpore Magno, & Robusto, says Albinus, vixitque & virili plane forma; vultu Severo, & torva nonnihil tuente. Fuit Animo generoso & alacri; totus tamen paulo fervidior atque commotior. Ceterum Ingeniosus Laboriosus & attentus; atque gloria semper cupidissimus; quam non arte, sed aperte palamque moritis suis acquiere studebat. Vixit in Calibatu parce & Sobrie, libere tamen & cum amicis hilarus. Adulari admodum non poterat, neque sustinere diu simulationem. Itaque nemini facile & diu parcere solebat; sed alios reprehendebat, errores evellere conabatur; in multos vehementius quoque invehitur, praesertim si quos in sua arte a vero abesse existimaret. Quod eam non tam carpendi aut ludendi libidine fecisse credimus, quam veritatis asserenda & defendenda studio atque impetu quodam, & quod non prorsus abstracte de se sentiret. Quemadmodum etiam non tam vitio vertendum ei esse videbatur quod verbis & moribus fuerit asperior; quam admirandum potius, talem adhuc edasisse, qui vitam tam duram & erraticam, & tam ab omni humanitate & urbanitate remotam; egerit in ea aetate, qua flexibiles hominum animos, sicut molissimum ceram, ad arbitrium fere sociorum, & ut fors vulerit, formari & fingi novimus.*

Thus far concerning the Life of our famous Lithotomist; we go on now to the same Albinus's Account of his Lithotomy. In 1705, he was made Professor of Physick, Anatomy, and in 1713, he was made Professor of Surgery, upon the Death of Doctor Bidloo. Amongst the other Parts of Surgery which Raa had learned at Paris; the Operation for the Stone by what is called the great Apparatus was one, and it is certain, that for some time after he fixed at Amsterdam, he practis'd it in that manner himself; but upon seeing *Fere Jacques* Cut in Holland, and having examined the Bodies of many such as died in that Monk's Hands, he from that Time changed his Method of Cutting in the Manner which we are now to explain.

Several Accounts have been published, and many more handed about concerning this Method of Professor Raa, but all of them trifling, false, and imperfect; and had not the learned D. Albinus, who had often seen Raa Cut, and is a perfect Judge of these Matters, thought it worth his while to oblige the World with an accurate and particular Relation of all the Steps of his Operation, we must have despaired of ever having a true Knowledge of it.

I shall trouble the Reader but with Two of these Accounts, both of them printed; the first by a Saxon Physician; and the other, of which something has already been said, by Mr. Cheselden.

We are told by the Physician, that in his Travels through England and Holland, he arrived on a certain Time at Amsterdam; and being there resolved to attend Dr. Rau's Courses of Anatomy and Surgery, amongst other Curiosities he saw there, one was the Operation for the Stone perform'd by him.

The 7th Day of February 1707, says the Traveller, I and Mr. Witham went with our Master Rau to Cromelic; a Village near Harlem, where a Boy was to be Cut; which was done in the Presence of two Surgeons and Burghers of the said Town. After the Body was disposed in a proper Posture with his Arms bound, and his Posteriors laid higher than his Head, and his Feet so tied, that the Part to be Cut could not be moved; Mr. Rau kneeling with one Knee upon the Table, sets himself directly before the Patient, thrusting in a common Catheter moisten'd with Oil into the Yard; at last meeting with the Stone, he withdraws that, and puts in another Catheter, so deep that he might feel it upon the Perinaum with his Fingers; then he makes an Incision in the Left Side of the Perinaum, four Fingers breadth from the Tuberosity of the Os Ischium, or Huckle Bone, and a Fingers breadth from the Anus, which Place of Incision the Catheter depresses towards the Perinaum. His Incision Knife was guarded a Thumbs breadth, looking like a common Launcet, which was not laid above the length of the first Joint of the Finger: First he cut the Skin, and then making an Incision through the Fat and the Muscles, he applied his Itinerary; after which he penetrated the Neck of the Bladder, then putting in the Penknife into the Wound, holding it strongly with his Hand, he delivered it to me; but in the mean time snatched up his Forceps, and drawing out his Penknife, he thrust it in betwixt the Itinerary and Conductor, dilating the Lips of the Wound by those two said Instruments, by which means he happily drew out the Stone. When it was extracted it was of the Size of a little Hen's Egg, moisten'd with Blood, and on one Side surrounded with a small little Membrane, where perhaps it had an Adhesion to the Side of the Bladder. It was almost of a round Figure and uneven, like a large Sand or gretty Stone. Cleansing the Wound with a Sponge, he applied nothing but a little Lint; and so binding up the Patient he put him to Bed, placing under his Buttocks some Oatmeal to receive the Urine, that would run from

the Wound and the *Fates* upon Occasion. He ordered the Curtains of the Bed to be drawn close, that the Light might not disturb the Patient's Rest, to compose whom he ordered an Anodyne Emulsion to be drunk *ad Libitum*. After the Operation, and the Sick being just laid upon the Bed, he cried out of exquisite Pains in the *Glans* of the Yard, when the *Stone* was taken away, which happens by Consent; in all which the Membrane of the *Urethra* has with the inward Membrane of the Bladder.

On the 7th of March, I saw another Lithotomy or Operation for the *Stone* performed by my Master on a *Jewish* Boy of Seven Years old; in which, besides what I have already told you, nothing particular happened, except the falling down of the *Intestinum Rectum*, occasioned by the Cries of the Patient; which lubricating with Oil he put up again with his Fingers, lest it should hinder him in his Operation.

By comparing this Account of *Rau's* Operation with that which is given by *Albinus*, it will be very easy to see how full it is of Mistakes, that is, how much it is of a piece with all the rest of this Author's Book.

Mr. *Cheselden* makes *Rau's* Method to be the same with that of *Frère Jacques*; for after transcribing some few Things from *Dionis* about that, he tells us, that the late Mr. *Rau*, Professor of Anatomy at *Leyden*, perform'd it afterwards in *Holland*, Cutting exactly between the Entrance of the *Ureters*, and with great Success.

It is not a little surprizing how Mr. *Cheselden*, who is so perfectly well acquainted with the true Structure of these Parts of the Body, came to let himself be so grossly impos'd upon by the Person that gave him this Account of *Rau's* Operation, which the least Reflection must have convinced him to be false and impossible, as shall be presently shown. What he has added, is I believe very just; at least it deserves the Attention of all such as shall ever undertake the Practice of Mr. *Rau's* Operation. In my Opinion, says he, this Way of Cutting exceeds the two former, (that is, the greater and lesser *Apparatus*) and would be yet better, if the Bladder was filled with Water before the Operation.

These, and many other such as these Accounts, have been given of Mr. *Rau's* Method of Cutting for the *Stone*; and I have only set down

two Samples of them, to show what need there was of a more exact and compleat Explanation of an Operation, which the Success wherewith it was attended must recommend to our most serious Thoughts. This the ingenious Dr. *Albinus* has fully executed in the Manner which we now proceed to show.

After having explained the Method of Cutting used by *Frere Jacques*, and given his Opinion of it, which as we have already seen, he concludes with this Observation, That it had better never have been heard of, had it not served as a Hint to lead *Rau* to the Discovery of his: He goes on to inform us, that *Rau* having fully examined the Structure and Situation of these Parts, which are either to be cut or shun'd in this Operation, discovered the only Defect of *Frere Jacques* Method to be the Want of some Way whereby the Instruments might be safely and securely directed towards the proper Place of the Bladder. This he also found out, and used it with the greatest Success. It cannot therefore be deny'd but that *Frere Jacques* shewed *Rau* the Way; for this; however, he ought always to be praised and valued, that by his own Skill and Industry he made that Addition to the Operation, by which alone it is rendered sure and safe, and preferable to all that have hitherto been invented, whereas before, it was dangerous, uncertain, and oftentimes fatal.

His Addition consisted in a *Catheter* furrowed or grooved on the Convex Side, which he thrust through the *Urethra* into the Bladder, that Convex Side pressing against the Part of it which was to be Cut, so as to be felt without; and by this Means serving to direct him in making the Wound in the Skin, in thrusting in the Knife, so as to cut the Bladder upon it, and in introducing the other Instruments which guide the *Forceps* strait into the Wound, as was practised in the great *Apparatus*.

But as the Common *Catheters* made Use of by those who cut the *Urethra* in the *Perinaeum*, are for the most part too little bent to be able to press sufficiently against the proper Place of the Bladder, he invented a new one, different from the others; first, in that where the crooked Part, and consequently the *Groove* begins, the *Curvature* was greater, and also in that the *Rostrum* or Beak at the other Extremity of the crooked Part was straiter and longer, that the Knife might be at
more

more Liberty to run both Ways upon it, and so make a large Wound in the Bladder. The Comparison of the Structure of these Parts in the humane Body, with what was to be done in the Operation, seem to have led him to these Things.

He placed the Patient, ty'd him, and ordered him to be held almost in the same Manner as they who cut the *Urethra* in the *Perineum*; except that he laid him upon his Back on a low Table, in such a Manner as that his Back was lower than his Buttocks, for the more convenient Situation of the Part to be cut.

Then he kneeled down before the Patient upon his Right Knee, his Left Leg being erect, and making an acute Angle with the Thigh, the better to support his Body;

Next laying hold of the *Penis* with his Left Hand, with his Right he thrust the *Catheter* artfully into the Bladder.

Then taking the Handle of the *Catheter* between the Fingers and Thumb of his Left Hand, he turned it gently and warily towards the Patient's Belly and right Groin, that the furrowed Convex Side thereof might be apply'd to that Part that was to be Cut; that is, as has been already said, to the Left Side near the Neck, and something towards the lower and back Part.

This being done, he pressed the *Catheter* gently towards that Part, and at the same time put his Right Thumb upon the soft Place of the Buttocks, on the Left Side of the *Anus*, between that and the great Protuberance of the *Os Ischium*, upon which we sit, just opposite to the Convex Part of the *Catheter*.

Then pressing the *Catheter* gently towards his Right Thumb, and at the same time his Right Thumb towards the *Catheter*, from the Left and lower Parts to the Right and upwards, he discovered and marked the exact Place on the Out-side which was opposite to the Convex Part of the *Catheter*, for there the Incision was to be begun.

This

This Place was on the Left Side of the *Anus*, about an Inch, or two Fingers breadth from that, towards the Protuberance of the *Ischium*. He chose it no nearer the *Anus*, for fear of hurting the *Intestinum Rectum*; and no further from it, that he might not be obliged to thrust the Knife too obliquely towards the *Catheter*. However, according to the Difference of Age and Stature, Structure, and Largeness of these Parts, he cut the Skin sometimes nearer the *Anus*, sometimes farther from it, and sometimes a little higher or lower; but the Convex Part of the *Catheter*, which press'd upon the Bladder, always directed him to the Place.

This being discovered, he began by Cutting through the Skin and a small Part of the Fat. He made the Wound strait and long, from above downwards, and a little inclined outwards towards the Protuberance of the *Ischium*, to keep farther from the *Intestinum Rectum*. About this first Incision, however, he was not very solicitous.

As soon as it was made, he thrust into it that Part of his Right Thumb or Fore-Finger, which is opposite to the Nail, to feel the *Staff*, which he kept with his Left Hand apply'd to that Part of the Bladder which he was to cut, with all possible Steadiness.

When he had found the *Staff* he pulled back his Thumb, and thrust the Point of his Knife immediately into the Wound, not very deep at first; and directing it with all the Caution he could towards the *Staff*, he cut gently all that came in his Way: And for fear of wounding the *Intestinum Rectum*, he most commonly first thrust his Finger into the *Anus*, to examine the Situation of it precisely, that so he might be able to shun it with the greater Certainty.

When by these gentle Steps his Knife had got almost to the Bladder, he thrust his Thumb or Fore-Finger again into the Wound to feel for the *Catheter* as before, to replace it, if by any Motion of the Patient it had changed its Situation, and also to remind himself of the Position of the Convex Part of it, upon which he was immediately to cut the Bladder.

In doing this he used more Caution and Circumspection than before: He first begged of the Assistants not to let the Patient move any Part, especially his Buttocks, and of the Patient himself to keep as quiet as possible; then holding the *Catheter* fixed in its Place with the Left

Hand, with the other he approached the Knife towards it, through the Wound, without making any further Incision, but only carefully directing the Point. This done he thrust it into the Groove of the *Catheter* with all the Attention and Wariness he was Master of: And it was easy for him to know when he was right, by the Point of his Knife pressing upon the Bottom of the Groove, and upon the Sides of it when he moved it gently either Way.

Then carrying the Knife along the Groove both upwards and downwards, but mostly downwards, and favouring the Motions of it by the Position of the *Catheter*, he made a pretty large Wound in the Bladder. The Situation of the *Staff* made the Incision incline a little from above outwards, and the Security of the Neighbouring Parts made it necessary it should do so.

He continued to take Care that the *Staff* should not slip from the Wound, and with his Fingers examined the Largeness of it, feeling at the same Time for the naked *Catheter*, if he had any Suspicion that it was out of its Place; for it was necessary that the Groove should be close to the Incision, that he might with the more Security thrust the Male *Conductor* into it.

Therefore having again desired the Patient to lie still, he took the Male *Conductor* into his Right Hand, and pushed it carefully and steadily through the Wound towards the *Catheter*; and after some few Tryals, fixed it in the *Sulcus* without any thing being intercepted between them, which it was easy to judge, both by the Resistance and Hardness of the *Staff*.

When he was assured of this, he pushed the *Conductor* with more Force, and thrust back the *Staff*, drawing the Handle of it gently towards him at the same time.

By this Means the Convex Part of it retired from the Wound into the Cavity of the Bladder, and the *Conductor* remaining still in the *Sulcus* was safely guided thither likewise; and by moving it gently up and down, he discovered either by its touching the naked *Staff* or the *Stone*, that it was really in the Cavity of the Bladder where he wanted it to be.

The

The other Parts of this Operation were performed as by the great *Apparatus*; for with his Right Hand he kept the Male *Conductor* in the Bladder, and with his Left drew the *Catheter* out through the *Urethra*. Then he took the Male *Conductor* into his Left Hand, and upon that directed the Female into the Bladder with his Right; afterwards holding the two *Conductors* at a sufficient Distance with his Left Fingers, he thrust the *Forceps* between them into the Bladder with his other Hand, and presently drew out the Female *Conductor*.

Then he felt with the *Forceps* for the *Stone*, that he might be sure that Instrument had not missed its Way, but was really within the Bladder, and afterwards drew out his Male *Conductor* likewise.

He used to open the *Forceps* with a considerable Force several times together, both to dilate the Wound and Bladder, and loosen it as much as he could from the *Stone*.

When this was done, he searched for, laid hold of, and extracted the *Stone* with the *Forceps*, with all the same Precautions which they commonly do, and always ought to use, who perform this Operation by Cutting the *Urethra* in the *Perinaum*.

As soon as one *Stone* was taken out, he thrust other Instruments into the Bladder, to discover if there were any more behind; and, with a proper Scoop, and very often with his Fore-Finger, he brought away any small Bits of Stones, Sand or clotted Blood, and then the Patient was laid in a Bed upon his Back.

He put neither Tent, Plaster nor Bandage upon the Wound, but kept it open for some Days after the Operation; and in the mean time ordered the Patient as much Ptisane or weak Emulsion as he could drink; that the Urine flowing first copiously into the Bladder, might wash it thoroughly, and then running out at the Wound, might carry along with it the Sand, Blood, or whatever else might remain. Afterwards he cured the Wound, as other fresh Wounds usually are.

With how great Dexterity, and in how short a Time he always performed this Operation, there are innumerable Witnesses to testify; among whom I could name several Persons of Probity, Learning and Character, who are still alive. How well and how successfully he operated, the Event afterwards proved; for the far greatest Part not only survived the Operation, and did very well after it, but recovered in an incredibly short Time so perfectly, as never to be afflicted with a *Fistula*, involuntarily.

luntary Flux of Urine, Barrenness, or any other Accidents which so offend attend those in whom the Urinary Passages have been Cut.

And tho' this Method may seem more difficult to be put in Practice upon Women; yet even these he Cut the same Way, provided they were Maids, or had never had Children: neither are there Instances wanting of his Success among such as had.

This excellent Account has *Dr. Albinus* given us of *Rau's* Method of Cutting for the Stone, in which he has omitted nothing that can any Way contribute to its being fully understood, if it is not that he has set down no Observations made on the Bodies of such as died before the Wound was cured; by which we should have had a more certain Account of all the Parts cut, than is to be found in this Relation at present.

But now, if we compare a little this Method with all those that went before it, it will be found to contain nothing of any Consequence that can be called New, except the extraordinary Skill and Dexterity of the Operator, and his cautious, prudent and attentive Manner of Operating. It is to these Things only, that is owing any Difference to be observed in either his Instruments, or the several Steps of his Operation; which Differences deserve not so much to be call'd New Inventions, as the making the best Use of what was already invented. The principal Thing wherein his Way of Cutting differs from that of *Marianus*, is in the Place in which he makes his Incision; but this his Historian owns to be the same with that where *Frere Jacques* made his; tho', as I have sufficiently proved, that Monk's Design was to make it in another Place. Again, he differs from *Frere Jacques* Methods in the Instruments he uses, and the manner of using them; but all this he took from the great Apparatus, except the strait Rostrum of his Staff, as *Mery* had done before him; tho' I do not think it at all probable that he had seen *Mery's* Book, before he had composed the Theory of his own Operation. Mr. *Rau's* principal Merit therefore consists in having made a judicious Collection of the Parts of several Methods, which were attended with the greatest Advantages and least Inconveniencies, and framing these into one Regular Operation, which in his Hands has been perhaps more successful than any hitherto discovered; but whether it will continue so to be, if brought into Practice a-new, must be left to Experience and Time to determine.

F I N I S



P O S T S C R I P T.

IN the Beginning of the foregoing Chapter, I observed that tho' several Accounts of Professor *Rau's* Operation for the *Stone* have been published, and many more handed about by those who pretend to have seen him Cut, yet they are all both imperfect and full of Mistakes; and that it is entirely owing to the learned and accurate Dr. *Albinus*, that this great Man's Method was not for ever lost to Posterity.

As soon as the Doctor's Book was published at *Leyden*, he did me the Honour, amongst several of his ingenious Friends here in *London*, to send it me in a Present; and at the next Meeting of the Royal Society, I thought proper to lay before them an Abstract in *English* of that Part of it which relates to Mr. *Rau's* Operation for the *Stone*; together with several Preparations, from which I demonstrated and described the Parts concerned in it.

These Preparations I have had now a good many Years by me: They make part of a compleat Collection that I have made, by which all the possible Ways of getting in to the Humane Bladder, in order to extract a *Stone*, may with the greatest Clearness be illustrated; and the Advantages and Inconveniencies of each of them, as far as these depend on the Structure of the Parts, with the greatest Certainty determined.

Of these Ways, I always reckoned that practis'd by Professor *Rau* to be one, long before I had heard any thing of his true Method, or even of that of *Frere Jacques*, from which it is taken; and indeed, my Preparations will serve to direct in every Step of his Operation, and point

out the Parts that are either to be Cut or avoided in it, as fully as if I had had *Albinus's* Book before me when I went about them. And I will venture to say, that the Examination of such Preparations as these, when fresh Subjects cannot be had, which every Surgeon and Anatomist must know is too often the Case with us, is the surest and easiest Way to enable us to understand, and make the right Use of what has been written upon the Subject of *Lithotomy*, which of late Years has made so much Noise in our Physical World.

But to return from this short Digression : If I may judge by the Event, what I then offered to the Royal Society was by many Members of that Honourable Body thought no unsuitable Entertainment for them ; for from that Time several worthy Physicians and Surgeons, having carefully read *Albinus's* Book, and examined my Preparations, began to think seriously of introducing the Practice of it amongst us. And I most willingly embrace this Opportunity of doing Justice to the ingenious Dr. *Bamber* and Mr. *Cheselden*, by declaring in a publick manner, (what I had many Opportunities of knowing, having assisted at most of the Experiments they made on dead Bodies) that as it was their Turn to Cut in the two great Hospitals of this City the following Season ; I beheld with the utmost Pleasure, the Alacrity, Industry and Application with which they soon made themselves Masters, each in the Way that suited his Genius best, of the true Method of performing an Operation, which they thought they had all the Reasons that Theory could furnish, to prefer even to the high Way of Cutting, which both of them had for a considerable Time practis'd with great Success.

On the 7th Day of last *August*, Dr. *Bamber* made the first Tryal of it on living Bodies in St. *Bartholomew's* Hospital, and since that Time he has made several more. In all these Operations he has thought it proper to follow every Step of Mr. *Rau's* Method, except that he filled the Bladder moderately with Water ; and therefore, as his Dexterity and Skill in every Operation he goes about are sufficiently known, there remains no more to be said about them ; save only, that as far as can be judged from the Number he has Cut, his Success is hitherto at least equal to that of Mr. *Rau*.

Of this Way, I always reckoned that practice had been long before I had heard any thing of his true Method or manner of doing it. Mr. *Rau* has been long before I had heard any thing of his true Method or manner of doing it. Mr. *Rau* has been long before I had heard any thing of his true Method or manner of doing it.

Mr. *Chefelden* began to Cut in *St. Thomas's Hospital* a few Days after *Dr. Bamber*; but as he has thought fit to vary *Professor Rau's Method* considerably, I must beg leave to insist a little more on his Operation.

I have already mention'd an Account of *Rau's Method* given by Mr. *Chefelden*, in the Preface to his Treatise on the High Operation for the Stone, published 1723, as he had received it from those who had been Scholars to Mr. *Rau*, and several times present at his Operations. His Informations were indeed very lame and imperfect; but yet, even from these, he had conceived so favourable an Idea of that Method, as to think it preferable either to that of *Celsus* or *Marianus*; and withal, that it would be still more so, if the Bladder was first filled with Water.

Albinus's late Treatise has, as I have already remarked, given this ingenious and most expert Surgeon an Opportunity of examining the whole Matter with more Clearness and Certainty than he had done before; and the Fruit of the Pains he has been at, is not only to confirm him in his former favourable Opinion of it, but also to bring it to such a degree of Perfection, as in his Judgment makes it preferable to all the Methods of Cutting that have ever been invented.

Now, as Mr. *Chefelden's* Method must be reckon'd an Improvement of that first attempted by *Frere Jacques*, a Description of it, such as a Spectator is able to give, does even upon that Account very well deserve a Place in the History I have ventured to write of the Lateral Operation for the Stone: And if, in what I shall say about it, I shall happen to mistake or omit any material Circumstance, I wish that may serve as an Inducement to the happy Improver to rectify and compleat whatever is amiss or wanting in mine, by obliging the Publick himself with a more accurate and full Account of his own Operation.

The Table upon which the Patient is placed is highest at that End upon which his Buttocks rest; and by means of a Pillow laid under him there, and another under his Head when he lies upon his Back, his Belly is lower than any other Part of his Body.

His Buttocks are placed upon the Edge of the Table; and his Knees being separated from one another, and bent as much as they can be conveniently, his Wrists and Anles are tied together; and he is kept in that Situation by three Assistants, One at each Leg, and a Third at his Head; who presses with his two Hands upon the Patient's Shoulders, to keep him from retiring backward from the Operator.

The Patient being brought from his Bed in a Night-Gown, and situated in this Manner, the Operator thrusts an hollow grooved Steel Catheter, through the Urethra into the Bladder; and with a Syringe mounted with an Ox's Ureter, injects as much warm Water into it as the Patient can bear without Pain, in the same Manner as is done in the High Operation. Into one Patient of about Eighteen Years of Age, and who had a Stone weighing Six Ounces and a Quarter, Mr. Cheselden injected Seven Ounces of Water; but he thinks the Quantity may always be determined by the Complaints of the Patient without observing any other Rule.

When the Water is injected, and secured from running out, by tying round the Penis a narrow Slip of Flannel, he gives the End of the Catheter to an intelligent Assistant to hold; whose principal Care is to keep it from rising, but not at all to direct the Groove to the Place where the Incision is to be made, for a Reason that we shall hear presently.

Then the Operator having seated himself upon a Chair, the Height of which is suitable to that of the Table on which the Patient is laid, takes a pointed Knife with a Convex Edge, and beginning about an Inch above the Anus, on the Left Side of the Raphe, between the Accelerator Urinae, or as I name that Muscle, Constrictor Urethrae, and the Erector Penis, he makes an Incision downwards by the Side of the Sphincter Ani, a little obliquely outwards as it descends from Two and an Half to Four Inches in Length, according to the Age of the Patient, or Size and Structure of the Parts. This first Incision he endeavours to make all at one Stroke, so as to cut through the Skin, Fat and all, or Part of the Levator Ani, which lies in his Way.

As soon as this is done, he thrusts the Fore-Finger of his Left Hand into the Middle of the Wound, in order to press the *Intestinum Rectum* to one Side, that it may be in less Danger of being Cut; and taking a crooked Knife in his other Hand, with the Edge on the Concave Side, he thrusts the Point of it through the Wound close by his Finger into the Bladder, between the *Vesicula Seminalis* and *Os Ischium* of the same Side; then lowering his Hand, he continues this second Incision upwards, till the Point of his Knife comes out at the upper Part of the first.

This Incision being finished, he thrusts the Fore-Finger of his Left Hand through the Wound into the Cavity of the Bladder; and having felt and secured the Stone, he introduces his *Forceps* upon his Finger, and endeavours to lay fast hold of the Stone with it; then he pulls out his Finger, and taking the *Forceps* in both Hands, he extracts the Stone with greater or less Facility, according to the Size thereof, or Largeness of the Wound he has made.

If there are more Stones than one, he feels for the rest with his Finger, then introduces his *Forceps*, and extracts them in the same manner.

During the whole Operation, the *Catheter* remains in the Bladder; and all that the Assistant who holds it has to mind is, as has been already said, to keep it from rising. By this means Mr. Cheselden thinks the Bladder is pressed down sufficiently to facilitate the Entry of the *Forceps* upon his Finger without the Use of any Director; and it being filled with Water, there is no occasion to Cut upon a Groove; neither is there any danger of laying hold of the *Catheter* with the *Forceps*, if due Care is taken to manage that rightly after it is in the Bladder.

In this Method of Operating there are but one or two Arterial Branches cut, from which there is any Danger of an Hemorrhagy, and not always from them neither: However, if after the Wound is well cleansed and washed with a wetted Spunge, any Quantity of Blood continues to run, he ties the Vessels immediately; and then having applied Pledgets of dry Lint and other proper Dressings, the Patient is afterwards carried to Bed.

regular Method of Cutting; and when Accident happens, which it was impossible to be aware of before the Operation, he has been seldom above a Minute (sometimes less) between the Beginning of the first Incision and Extraction of the Stone.

There are Circumstances, however, in which he finds it necessary to vary some Steps of his Method. These, as far as I have been Witness to, or can remember them, are as follows:

First, When having laid hold of the Stone with the Forceps, he finds by the Force it takes to draw it out, or other Signs, that it is very large, rather than expose the Patient to the Danger and Pain of a violent Dilaceration of the Parts, he chuses either with a Pair of Scissars, if it is the upper Part, or his Knife if the lower, to enlarge the Wound by an additional Incision.

Secondly, If after the second Incision is made, he finds by the Finger which he endeavours to thrust into the Bladder, that the Catheter has slip'd into the Wound, which, by the straining of the Patient and other Accidents, sometimes happens; then he withdraws his Finger, and instead thereof thrusts a Gorgere into the Groove of the Catheter, upon which he introduces his Forceps in the ordinary Manner. It is only with a View to this Accident, that he prefers a grooved Catheter to one entirely round, such as was used by *Frere Jacques*.

Thirdly, When the Assistant, who holds the Catheter, gives him any ground to think that he has laid hold of that with the Forceps instead of the Stone; which, tho' he believes it will rarely happen, yet is not impossible; he orders it immediately to be pulled out, and then endeavours to lay hold of and extract the Stone without that Conveniency which the pressing down of the Bladder would afford him, if he should be obliged to introduce his Forceps oftner than once.

Fourthly, When by the Smallness or Situation of the Stone, he finds this Method to be easier or more safe, he thrusts his Fingers into the Anus; and having press'd the Stone towards the Orifice of the Wound,

he pulls it out with his other Hand, without using any *Forceps* at all.

Lastly, When he feels, either by his Finger, or the Resistance the *Stone* makes to the Force with which he strives to draw it out, that there is any kind of Constriction, either of the Ureters or Membranes of the Bladder about it, he endeavours by thrusting his Fingers into the *Anus*, or other proper Methods, to bring that Part near the Orifice of the Wound ; and then with his Knife he cuts these Membranes which had formed the *Sphincter* ; and thus the *Stone* being disengaged is extracted with the greatest Ease.

As I have here described Mr. *Chefelden's* new Operation nearly in the same Order that *Albinus* has followed in that of Mr. *Rau*, it will be easy for the Reader to perceive what Additions or Alterations are owing to him, or, in one Word, what Improvements he has made ; so that it would be altogether superfluous to lengthen this *Postscript* any further, by comparing them together.

Mr. *Chefelden* has hitherto Cut but Seven Patients this Way that I know of ; and whoever has heard of the wonderful Success which attended his Practice of the High Operation, will have but little room to doubt of the happy Event of his present Method, in which even these first Tryals have succeeded equally, if not beyond whatever he could boast of in the former.

To conclude: Were I not afraid of being thought to pass the Bounds I prescribed to my self in this History, of only relating and comparing Facts together, without interposing my own Judgment, I might add, that in my Opinion there is nothing wanting in Mr. *Chefelden's* Method of performing the *Lateral Operation*, by which it can in any respect be improved, except the Use of crooked *Forceps* upon some Occasions ; for I have frequently observed at both Hospitals, that the *Stone* is much more easily extracted, when it lies on that Side of the Bladder in which the Incision is made, then when it lies on the other, especially if the Cavity to be observed there, is of a preternatural Depth or Breadth, as it sometimes happens. Therefore when this is the Case, I am of Opinion that if the *Forceps* were a little crooked, the *Stone* might with less Difficulty be laid hold

hold of, than by the strait ones which have been hitherto used. It is true, that crooked *Forceps* will be weaker than the others; but the difference in Strength would be more than compensated by the Facility of charging the *Stone*; because in this, rather than in the Force necessary to extract it when laid hold of, the Inconvenience I am talking about seems to consist.

Some makes to the Force with which he strives to draw it, there is any kind of Constriction, either of the Uters or Membranes, or other proper Methods, to bring that Part near the Orifice of the Wound; and then with his Knife he cuts these Membranes which had torn the *Spaw*; and thus the Stone being disengaged is extracted with the greatest Ease.

As I have here described Mr. Osbourn's new Operation nearly in the same Order that *Albani* has followed in that of Mr. *Kay*, it will be easy for the Reader to perceive the Difference of the Operations; and owing to him, or to some other, that he has made; to that it would be difficult to say.



Mr. Osbourn's Operation is described in a Way that I know of, and which I have not seen elsewhere. I have not room to doubt of the happy Event of his Operation, in which even the first Trials have succeeded equally well, beyond whatever he could boast of in the former.

To conclude: Were I not afraid of being thought to pass the Bounds prescribed to my self in this History, of only relating and comparing Facts together, without interposing my own Judgment, I might add, that in my Opinion there is nothing wanting in Mr. Osbourn's Method of performing the External Operation, by which it can in any respect be improved, except the Use of crooked *Forceps* upon some Occasions; for I have frequently observed at both Hospitals, that the Stone is much more easily extracted, when it lies on that Side of the Bladder in which the Incision is made, than when it lies on the other, especially if the Cavity is to be observed there is of a permanent Depth or Breadth, as it sometimes happens. Therefore when this is the Case, I am of Opinion that it is not necessary to use a little crooked, the Stone might with less Difficulty be laid hold of.